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The

South Atlantic Quarterly

EDITED BY

WILLIAM K. BOYD and WILLIAM H. WANNAMAKER

JULY, 1919

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For the past ten years the magazine has drawn its contributions from a wide extent of country, representing thirty-eight states of the Union as well as England and Japan. New York leads with a total of thirty-three contributions out of a total of two hundred and sixty-four; but nearly forty-five per cent have come from the South, so that the magazine has contributed its share towards helping to encourage and develop independence of thought, to mould public opinion, to raise the standards of taste and literary expression, and to reflect the best tendencies in the culture and the life of the Southern people. Though not unnaturally a large majority of the contributors have come from the colleges, *The Review* has not been merely an academic organ, but has covered a broad field of literature, art, history, economics, theology, and current questions, and has always tried to approach these subjects in a dignified manner, free from prejudice and undue partisanship.

The Sewanee Review is conducted by members of the Faculties of the University of the South, Sewanee, Tennessee, but has no official connection with the University.

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The South Atlantic Quarterly

The South and the Lynching Evil

ROBERT R. MOTON
Principal Tuskegee Institute

Lynching is a national evil. It is not confined to any one section of the country. The records for the past thirty years show that there appear to be only about five states where lynchings have not occurred. It is a matter which concerns the whole nation. This was the position taken at the recent National Conference on Lynchings held in New York City. Former Associate Justice Charles E. Hughes, speaking on this occasion, said: "Civilization, as well as Democracy, is at stake. You cannot expect a lawless sentiment to be confined to any one section of the country; if lawlessness succeeds in one place, it will break out in another."

While it is true that lynching is a national evil and is not confined to any one section of the country, it is also true that this evil more vitally concerns the South than it does the other sections of the country because of the fact that by far the greater number of lynchings occur here. In the thirty years from 1889 to 1918 there were, according to the records, 3,224 lynchings. Of this number, 390, or 12.1 per cent, occurred in the North and West and 2,834, or 87.9 per cent, in the South. That is to say, the South, with about one-half the population of the North and West, had more than seven times as many lynchings as these two sections combined. It also appears that the tendency is for lynchings to become more and more characteristic of the South. The decrease of lynchings in other sections of the country has been more rapid than it has in the South. In the ten years from 1889 to 1898 there were 1,613 lynchings in the United States. Of this number, 262, or 16.3 per cent, occurred in the North and West and 1,351, or 83.7 per cent, in the South. In the ten years 1909 to 1918 there

were 687 lynchings in the United States, a decrease in the thirty years for the Nation as a whole of 926, or 57 per cent. In the same period, 1909 to 1918, the number of lynchings in the North and West was 40; a decrease of 222, or 84 per cent, from the ten years' period thirty years before. In the same ten-year period, 1909 to 1918, the number of lynchings in the South was 647, a decrease of 704, or 52 per cent. This indicates that the decrease of lynchings in the North and West has been 32 per cent greater than the decrease of this evil in the South.

It is further true that the Negroes of the South are the ones whom the lynching evil most vitally affects. In the thirty years just mentioned, 2,522, or 78 per cent of those put to death by mobs, were Negroes. It is also true that, although at the present time white persons are often put to death by mobs, the tendency appears to be for lynching to be more and more confined to Negroes. In the five year period 1889 to 1893, 68.9 per cent of those lynched were Negroes; whereas, in the five year period 1914 to 1918, 81.2 per cent were Negroes.

I am of the opinion that lynching is the chief cause of unrest among Negroes. It was the cause most often given as a reason for wanting to migrate to the North. It is the cause most often mentioned in resolutions and expressions asking that conditions be bettered. It is one of the chief factors in making Negro labor unstable. It not only makes Negro labor unstable, but it also causes unrest among business, professional and property-owning Negroes who form the stabilizing forces in the various communities of my people. In this connection I was profoundly impressed by noting recently a memorial from a Negro Dental Association of Louisiana to the Governor of that State, asking his protection and setting forth that through threats of mob violence members of the Association had been compelled to leave the state. My own observations are that this instability, this unrest of Negro labor and of Negroes generally, is tending to increase rather than decrease. This unrest and this instability are greatly retarding the industrial and economic development of the South; for to the extent that Negroes do not have the full protection of the law in life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, to this extent will the

industrial and economic development of the South be retarded. Every indication points to the fact that the South is going to need the Negro as a laborer to an even greater extent than she has heretofore needed him. On the other hand, there is every indication that the continued stoppage of immigration from Europe and the great revival in the building industries and other lines, which will come when peace is fully established, are going to create probably even greater demand for the Negro in the North than there has ever been.

To my mind, the two most significant things in connection with the lynching evil are probably the growth of sentiment against it and the decrease in the number of lynchings. I have been especially pleased to note the growth of sentiment in the South against lynching, and the strong stand which such influential papers as "The Montgomery (Alabama) Advertiser," "The Atlanta (Georgia) Constitution," "The Houston (Texas) Post," "The Charlotte (North Carolina) Observer," "The Columbia (South Carolina) State," "The Memphis (Tennessee) Commercial Appeal," "The New Orleans (Louisiana) Times-Picayune," and many others that could be mentioned which, by their frequent editorial comments, are doing a splendid work in arousing public sentiment to the importance of having this evil abolished. There is an increasingly large number of white people who are setting their faces against this evil and are speaking out and openly opposing it. An indication of the growth of this sentiment is found in the large number of Southern white people who signed the call for the recent National Conference on Lynching and the very prominent part which they took in the proceedings of this conference. Another indication of the growth of sentiment against this evil is the large place that was given to the discussion of lynching at the recent meeting of the Southern Sociological Congress. The very striking resolutions adopted were:

"The Southern Sociological Congress strongly condemns lynching and mob rule which are un-American and subversive of law and order. We pledge ourselves to do everything possible to prevent lynching and we call upon the editors of the public press, the ministers, the teachers and other leaders re-

sponsible for creating public sentiment, to proclaim against this practice, which constitutes both a disgrace and menace in our own land and also discredits American democracy abroad; and we urge the immediate exercise of all possible State and Federal power to put a speedy end to these outrages throughout the country."

The congress not only adopted resolutions, but formulated the following program:

"First, to carry on a ceaseless campaign of publicity through the public press;

"Second, to send speakers to address conventions on this subject in order to enlist active support of religious, educational and other leaders;

"Third, to carry on a thorough-going investigation of the causes of lynching upon the results of which will be worked out for the future a constructive program of education, legislation, and law enforcement."

The publicity that is being given to the fact that lynchings are now occurring for almost any cause, however trivial, that women are being lynched—five in 1918—that only a small proportion of lynchings are for the "unmentionable crime," are helping to arouse public sentiment against this evil. The records show that from two-thirds to three-fourths of the persons put to death by mobs are not charged with rape. Only twenty-five per cent of the persons put to death by mobs in 1918 were charged with that crime. According to the records compiled by Monroe N. Work, of the Tuskegee Institute, there have been in the first five months of this year twenty-three persons lynched. Of this number only five were charged with rape or attempted rape.

We have brought out of the war new conceptions of human relationships and the duties of individuals, groups, and races to each other. We are now in the midst of a great After War Reconstruction Program. An important part of this reconstruction is to endeavor to reduce, and as far as possible to abolish, every form of lawlessness. This is a most opportune time for the campaign which is being launched to abolish an evil which is doing so much to hinder just and harmonious relations between the races. The stronger peoples

and races are insisting that the weaker shall have just and equal protection. I am pleased to note that here in the South this is being more and more insisted upon. It has been especially gratifying to me in the past few months to have so many expressions from Southern white people with reference to the necessity of justice being done to the Negro; and almost invariably one of the things mentioned was the abolishing of the lynching evil.

The stimulation of the growth of sentiment for prohibition is, to my mind, an indication of how the sentiment against lynching can be increased. Who would have supposed ten years ago that in so short a time we would have national prohibition, and that an amendment to the Constitution of the United States making the sale of intoxicating liquors illegal would be ratified by more than 37 of the states? Prohibition was largely brought about through agencies which constantly kept before the public the evil of intoxicating drinks and the great moral and economic losses which the country was sustaining because of this evil. In this same manner information can be spread throughout the South with reference to the great moral and economic losses which are being sustained in the South because of the lynching evil. These losses are affecting both white and black, for that well known saying of the late Booker T. Washington, that "You cannot keep a man in the ditch unless you remain down yourself," is being more and more recognized as strikingly true with reference to lynching.

That the South will put this evil away from her is indicated by the very brave words of ex-Governor Emmett O'Neal, who in the course of his address at Tuskegee Institute on Founder's Day said: "There is another duty of the South and that is to oppose all forms of lawlessness and, by her own example, to lift high the standards of law supremacy. The South should set its face like a flint against all forms of mob violence and lynch law. The term 'lynch law' is a palpable misnomer, for there is but one law in this country to which we all owe allegiance and that is the law administered by the orderly processes of the courts legally constituted. Wherever and whenever any persons, regardless of their numbers or

their character, put to death by mob violence any citizen of this country, or any foreigner enjoying the protection of our laws, the act is none the less murder, however flagrant or odious may be the crime which has been committed. America can only prove her loyalty to the true spirit of democracy by making democracy safe, not only in the world, but the life of every citizen safe against violence in the country which claims to be the very citadel of democratic government. In this country we all owe security of life, of liberty and of property not to powerful armies or navies or to a formidable constabulary, but rather to that majestic supremacy of the law under which alone may be read the marvelous progress of a government which is founded on the rights and fortified by the intelligence of the people."

Memories of Annapolis

SAMUEL A. ASHE, LL.D.

Raleigh, N. C.

Author, "A History of North Carolina," Etc.

When I entered the Naval Academy in September, 1855, that institution was in its infancy. In October, 1851, twenty students had been admitted to it; and of these, four graduated in June, 1854, after a three-year course. These were Thomas O. Selfridge, Joseph N. Miller, John S. Barnes, and John M. Stribling. These were the first graduates of the Naval Academy established at Annapolis. A year later, June, 1855, twelve completed the four years' course and graduated. When I entered in the following September, there were twenty members of the First Class, seventeen members in the Second Class, and thirty-eight in the Third Class; and in the Fourth Class there were forty-nine members, of whom fifteen had been put back from a previous class. The entire student body numbered 124.

At that time the students were rated as "Acting Midshipmen, on probation." On graduating they became Midshipmen. After the Civil War they were called Naval Cadets; and finally, years afterwards, they became Midshipmen. In addition to these "Acting Midshipmen," when I entered there were thirty-one old Midshipmen studying at the Academy, taking a one-year course prior to standing examination for promotion. These had been in the service, some from 1848, others from 1849 and 1850. They had been at sea three and four years and were bearded men. They occupied a separate building and were on a different footing from the youngsters.

On entering the grounds from the city, a broad walk led to the most pretentious building on the premises—the mess hall, the back of which overlooked the Severn. Its long front encased a sheltered gallery where the students attended mess formations. A hundred yards higher up the Severn was the Chapel, while close on the other side was the large Recitation Hall. Then, stretching away towards the Bay, were the

Quarters,—small two storey buildings, except one occupied by the "Oldsters." And finally, commanding the Bay, was the Old Fort—Fort Severn—in which the boys were practiced at the great guns.

The mess formation was by gun crews, about eighteen boys being assigned to a crew, under the command of a First Captain, a member of the First Class, and a Second Captain, a member of the Second Class. In the early morning the crews fell in at the portico in front of the mess hall, and, after roll call, marched to the Chapel for prayers. That being over, they marched back to the Mess Hall, each boy taking his assigned seat at the table of his crew. The Captain sat at the head, and the Second Captain at the foot, of the table. Under that organization, also, there was practice every Saturday at the great guns in the Fort and also on inclement afternoons; but the battalion formation for small arms was different.

The Superintendent in 1855 was Capt. L. M. Goldsborough, a member of the well known Maryland family of that name—one of whom had been engaged in North Carolina in the construction of the Wilmington and Weldon Railroad, the town of Goldsboro being named in his honor. "Old Goldy" was of immense proportions; but despite his unwieldy form he was a very efficient officer. Later, he was succeeded by Capt. George S. Blake, a very polished officer. His son, Frank Blake, had been a schoolmate of mine at Rugby Academy, Washington; and now I found him at the Naval School in the class ahead of me.

Among the other officers at the Academy was John Taylor Wood, a grandson of President Taylor and nephew of Jefferson Davis. He had a most agreeable personality, and everybody liked him. I recall how interested we all were one day as our practice ship, the *Preble*, was sailing up Boston Bay and she was struck by a sudden squall—Lieutenant Wood being officer of the deck—and how delighted we were at his fine efficiency. During the Civil War he was Naval Aide to President Davis, and he successfully conducted several perilous undertakings. In fact, he was a hero. After the war he

settled at Halifax, N. S.; and one of his sons was the first American officer to fall in the Boer War.

Another of the officers was Lieut. James Iredell Waddell, who was a kinsman of my mother. He was quite a large man; while his wife, Selina Iglehart, was very small. They were much in love with each other, and it was delightful to see them meandering over the grounds so happy and devoted. Lieutenant Waddell had a reputation for spirit and conduct that made him a hero in the eyes of the young men. It was reported that he had fought a duel or two before breakfast—and that he limped a little gave color to the report. He sailed with my class on the *Plymouth* in 1858, and he devoted his leisure to reading international law. During the Civil War he carried the flag of the Confederacy into the Arctic ocean—on the *Shenandoah*—and there never was a finer feat of seamanship than his making his port in England after he learned that the Confederacy had failed. Along with him on the *Shenandoah* were John Grimball and W. C. Whittle, who were in the class above me. Another officer of the *Plymouth* on that cruise was Lieutenant Minor, who, at the very end of the war, was able to render me a special service. Among Lieutenant Minor's accomplishments was the art of telling entertaining stories. I recall a very comical one in which Commander Rhand and Midshipman Flusser figured, along with a dead boatswain who apparently wanted to come on board, the gas in his body causing him to rise to the surface. Lieutenant Flusser unhappily lost his life in an encounter with the Confederate Ram *Albemarle* in our North Carolina waters.

The first cruise we made was on the *Preble*, a sixteen gun sloop. She was a sailing vessel: no steam at all. There were only about sixty boys aboard. It was, indeed, a day of small things, and the boys were young as the entrance age ran down to fourteen years. We sailed to Newport, Boston, and Portland, where the tide rises some twenty feet or more. Neal Dow had been active, and Maine then was the first dry State.

My next cruise, 1858, was in a more pretentious vessel, the *Plymouth*, a 22-gun sloop, with a flush spar deck. She was, indeed, a fine craft and an elegant sailer. On that

cruise the boys numbered about a hundred. We sailed up the Gulf Stream, along Newfoundland, encountering the fogs and icebergs of that latitude, and seeing the curious little Portuguese men of war, or nautiluses. After a stormy passage we at last feasted our eyes on the lovely views of the coast along the English Channel; and then we anchored in the roadstead of Cherbourg. The breakwater had just been completed and the great docks were about to be opened. Many thousand French troops were there for the celebration, but we boys looked more at the pretty French girls than on the soldiers. Even now there are memories of the pastry, of the *patés*, of the wine, both red and white. But we sailed away into the Bay of Biscay, where a tremendous storm carried us near to the very foot of the Pyrenees. The sweep of the storm from the south in those parts piled up the water into mountains, the waves having exceeding length and attaining great velocity and height, and the staunch *Plymouth* was only a cockle shell in the hands of Neptune. We, however, made good our way to Cadiz and saw not only Spanish girls, but the tawny Moors and men peddling water from skins borne over their shoulders. I recall a *bon mot* at our dinner in the grand hotel. A half dozen of us were on one side of a long table while the other side was lined with grave and reverend Spanish Dons, who between the courses made up their cigarettes. Cenas, of my class, who being from New Orleans spoke French from the cradle, said to a Don: "Every one smokes here." "Yes, very generally," was the reply. "Even the ladies," said Cenas. "No," replied the Don, "not here." "Oh," said Cenas, "you play on the word *ici*; they smoke at Madrid." The old Don looked amused and, with a twinkle in his eye, gravely remarked: "Young gentleman, ladies are the same everywhere."

The battery at Charleston lined with its fine white buildings always recalls memories of Cadiz.

Our next stop was at Madeira; and at the Convent there, where the lovely feather flowers were made, I saw the woman who years before had the reputation of being the most beautiful woman in the world—a noted Austrian Duchess. Then, sailing South, we fell in with the seaweed in the Sea of

Saragossa and struck the trade wind and enjoyed the perfection of ocean travel. All the while the boys were at school, learning everything an "old salt" ought to know, from tying knots to working out a lunar; from hitting a target to taking in sail and saving ship in a sudden squall. It was "practice makes perfect," sure enough. And it was a practice ship we were on. About the year 1914, the newspapers were mentioning that the *Plymouth* was the only sailing vessel in the United States Navy, all the others having given place to steamers, and she was then starting on a final voyage from the Atlantic to the Pacific. She was certainly a "thing of beauty."

The faculty at the Academy were sympathetic with the students rather than otherwise. There are particular memories of Seager, the fencing master, with his wonderful stories; of Roget, teacher of Spanish; of old Girault, the little Frenchman, who earlier had taught my aunts at Bordenton; and indeed of all the teachers. The pride of the Academy, however, was Professor William Chauvenet, who was esteemed as the most learned man in America. He taught only the First Class—and before I had recited to him my resignation had been accepted. When I went to bid him good-by, he said, "What! You going away. I am so sorry; for I looked forward to the pleasure of having you for a pupil." I have always thought that the best compliment ever bestowed on me. His statue has recently been erected at the Corcoran Art Gallery at Washington.

In the First Class were some very fine fellows—among them Allen, Cooke, Evans, and Eastman.

In the Second Class were Joe Alexander, F. M. Bunce, Frank Blake, Charles Graves, Tom Mills, and others whom I recall with pleasure.

In the class next above mine were Hamilton A. Brown and W. A. Kerr from North Carolina; Dewey, Davies, Farquhar, Grimball, Howison, Howell, Kantz, R. S. McCook (who once saved me from drowning), Reed, Vernon H. Vaughan, a ward of Yancey of Alabama, later appointed by Grant as Governor of Utah, and others I remember well.

Of the students, I have memories of six classes, running from Pythian's, Bunce's, Dewey's, Mahan's, Schley's, and Cushing's. Joseph Alexander, of North Carolina, was the most unusual mathematical prodigy of that date. But after the Civil War he retired to farm life near the mountains and sank into obscurity. Frank Blake, who won "first honors," resigned and became a banker in London, and easily held his own in any society. Charles Graves, of Georgia, but of North Carolina stock, along with Wilbur Hall and a dozen others, served the Khedive of Egypt; and when Chinese Gordon was starting for the Soudan, he sent Graves a commission and invited him to accompany the expedition; but Graves replied, "My face is now turned homeward," and he returned to Georgia. Hall, of my class, had in charge the education of the Khedive's children. Asked one day what he thought of the army, he replied, "It is too much under control of civilians." "How so?" "Your officers are illiterate; and the civilian clerks conduct all the affairs." Soon, neither leave nor promotion was allowed to any one who could not read and write; and the camp became a school of instruction—and in six months every soldier could read and write.

The young men who at that period composed the student body at the Academy were subordinates during the Civil War, but their training was invaluable and they did excellent work whenever an opportunity presented itself. In after years they were at the head of the Navy and won distinction and fame, and their careers brought luster to the Academy. They were indeed a fine lot of young men. In particular was my class a good one. It had in it some very excellent characters. My own associations were warmly affectionate; and I recall those early friends even now with admiration. Claiborne and Cenas, of New Orleans, Averitt, of Virginia, Hall, of Georgia, and others were men of the first water.

My roommate from first to last was Mr. Hackett, an affectionate young gentleman from Pennsylvania. For reasons unknown to me he left the U. S. naval service about the beginning of the war—perhaps because he was in sympathy with the South—and became a farmer near Annapolis. The only other member of my class still alive is Admiral

George C. Remey, who gained distinction in an assault on Fort Sumter, and during the seige of Battery Wagner.

In 1856, Alfred Mahan entered my class—a year advanced—and at once began to share its highest honors. He was the most intellectual man I have ever known. He had not only a remarkable memory but also capacity to comprehend, and a clarity of perception that rendered him distinguished among men of intelligence. He and I became affectionate friends, and our friendship lasted through life. We were correspondents until his death—although in these later years our letters were desultory. In the rotunda at Washington is a painting, the Landing of the Pilgrims. Miles Standish's wife, Rose, is represented leaning over his shoulder. Her face was painted from that of Admiral Mahan when a boy, and it is a remarkable presentation of his lineaments as he was when he entered the Academy.

When we were starting on our cruise in the summer of 1858 the subject of naval heroes came up; and Mahan mentioned to me that the day for gaining distinction through feats of personal daring, as in the case of Decatur, was passed, but that he proposed to win renown in his profession through intellectual performance. He was not apt as a sailor man, for we boys were taught the handiwork of seaman; but he had another vision; and his subsequent career is a remarkable illustration of the realization of young dreams. When he went abroad with the White Squadron in 1888 he was the most distinguished naval officer not merely of the time but of all time; but note a difference between distinguished and renowned for heroic performance. His historical work, *Sea-Power*, has had more influence on the world's history than any other naval book.

A pleasant memory occurs to me. Mahan had been interested in Miss Ingraham, a daughter of Commodore Ingraham of Koosta fame; but in April, 1862, she married his classmate Hall, and I was Hall's best man, the ceremony being at Charleston. In 1888 when the White Squadron was in the Mediterranean, Hall was consul at Nice, and Mahan visited him and Mrs. Hall. It happened that during this visit Hall received a long letter from me; and the reply was something

of a joint appreciation of our unexpected reunion in spirit. As Mahan and I were like brothers,—although after the fall of the Confederacy I remained for forty years within my own atmosphere, at home,—yet he visited me on Christmas, 1870, and afterwards; and he rendered me affectionate service. And at other times he thought that I rendered him some service. In some particulars he was progressive and constructive and dared to put the issue to the hazard. He had at heart to improve the service, and the establishment of the Naval College was largely his work; and, indeed, while I was still at the Academy, he asked me to aid him in raising the standard of the Academy and getting it more on a par with West Point; although he fully realized that his efforts in that direction might not be relished by the student body and thus make him unpopular. Early in life he had been trained at a church school in Maryland, and, as he had one of the best of mothers, later in life he became devoted to his duties as a churchman; and were he not distinguished otherwise, he would be as a churchman. There was, indeed, much that was lofty and superior in him; and the lovely lineaments of Rose Standish well betokened the texture of the elements within him.

Different from Mahan in intellectual calibre was Schley, of the class of 1856. While Schley was not of large frame, he was something of an athlete—fond of games, could out jump and out run others. He was always in a good humor, had a big, warm heart, and naturally he drew others to him. Without ambition to excel in his studies, he possessed that fibre out of which heroes are made—a purpose to do manly things better than other men. And sure enough, if my memory serves me, he made a name by volunteering on an excursion into the Arctic; and then he won fame as the victor in the naval battle of Santiago.

In a still lower class was Cushing,—another adventurous spirit. We sailed together in the summer of 1858 and there was nothing remarkable about him at that time except that he was fond of smoking and not overly tidy in his habits. One night we were in the chains outside the vessel, smoking; on regaining the deck, Cushing sucked so much nicotine from his

foul pipe that his heart stopped and he fell in his tracks; he was hurried to the cockpit, and fortunately revived. Had the untoward incident happened three minutes sooner, he would inevitably have perished. His exploits in our North Carolina waters during the war were unequalled by any other of the daring spirits of that period. They are a matter of history.

I was there only a couple of months with Sampson; but it was said that he was a son of the noted divine at Washington City, where my boyhood was passed. As he was intellectual and had been well-trained, so at once he took position at the head of his class and was discussed. Thus I recall more about him than I otherwise should. His subsequent career was on a line with his reputation at Annapolis.

In the class of 1854 were T. W. W. Davies, of Virginia, and Albert Kautz, roommates. Davies resigned; Kautz was captured off Hatteras in June, 1861, by Captain Crossan, in command of the North Carolina steamer *Winslow*. A prisoner of war to the State of North Carolina, he was brought to Raleigh and paroled to Crossan's farm in Warren County, and then allowed to go to some springs in Virginia. The Federals had possession of Lieutenants Stevens, of Florida, Ben Loyall and Walter Butt, of Virginia, and having confined them in Fort Lafayette threatened to hang them as pirates. Loyall, I think, was Farragut's brother-in-law; and Walter Butt belonged to the same connection. Had Butt been allowed to play his violin to Mr. Lincoln he might have assuaged his hostility; for he was an adept in that performance. To protect these unfortunate Confederates, President Davis desired that North Carolina should turn Kautz over to the Confederacy to be held as a hostage. He was confined in a prison at Richmond; but at once Davies asked President Davis to parole Kautz and let him proceed to Washington and seek to have an exchange. Mr. Davis at first suggested that Mr. Kautz might not return. "Oh," said Davies, "let me take his place.—If he does not return, you may treat me as you would him." Mr. Davis could not resist that appeal and Kautz was paroled to go to Washington. He had much difficulty in getting the President to reverse the decision of the administration, and treat the Southern forces as belliger-

ents, but after two months he prevailed. Thus was brought about the first exchange of prisoners. It was due to Kautz that an exchange was made; and at the same time 350 men taken at Hatteras were exchanged for a like number captured at the first Bull Run.

Indeed as to that there is a story worth telling. The surrender at Hatteras was to the navy and the prisoners were received on ship board. They were taken to New York. Among them was a Mr. Bell, who tells me that when it was said at New York that the men were not to be treated as prisoners of war, Captain _____ addressed them on his ship and said: "I received you as prisoners of war; and if you are not to be so treated, I will take you back and turn you loose where I got you." They were the first soldiers exchanged. But it was only after some months' detention at Fort Warren—where, also, Mason and Slidell were held until the British made Seward release them.

Another member of my class to whose memory I might even now drop a tear was Alexander Slidell Mackenzie, a very young boy—but very bright. His father had been an actor in a deplorable incident. He was in command of the brig *Somers*, and at sea; and on board was Midshipman Spencer, a son of John C. Spencer, a celebrated New York jurist, and Secretary of War and Secretary of the Treasury under President Tyler. Spencer was accused of plotting with some seamen to seize the vessel, kill the officers and turn pirate. Mackenzie called a drumhead court martial, and it was resolved to execute Spencer; and then and there summarily the execution was had. Mackenzie was tried by court martial, but was acquitted. The deed was reprobated, however, and Mackenzie, out riding one day, fell from his horse dead. Captain Mackenzie's name had been Slidell before he took that of Mackenzie. He was a brother of John Slidell, of Louisiana, once senator from that state, and then a commissioner of the Confederate States to Great Britain, taken by Captain Wilkes from a British vessel on the high seas and held as a prisoner until Great Britain demanded his release. The Slidell family was a New York family. My classmate was thus a nephew of the Confederate commissioner. He was

a dear, lovable young man; and no one ever breathed that he had heard of the trouble that befell his father. He was one of the brightest men of the class and probably graduated among the stars. After the Civil War he met an untimely death in the China seas, and there is a monument to his memory on the grounds at Annapolis, I am told.

My last year at Annapolis was likewise that of Dewey's. He was a First-Classman, I being in the Second Class. While we were there together for three years it was only in that last year that we were closely associated. He was then Captain of a gun crew; and I was his Second Captain. When he was present I stood by his side; and when he was absent I took his place. I had the advantage of his training and example during that year; and it was excellent. He was no longer a boy, but a man. He had a settled manhood about him. In physique he was compact, square-built, standing firmly on his legs. He moved with precision, every movement being precise. Thoroughly conversant with his duties, endowed with a quick apprehension, he was rapid, determined, efficient. Naturally he was commanding; but he had a kindness about him that was very attractive. His crew, under his discipline and control, was, I think, the crack one of that year. Recalling his personality at that period when character was being formed, I find his subsequent development to be of a piece with his promise. His rapid movement when the Spanish war was declared, his self-sufficiency in cutting the cable, his iron firmness in taking measures—these betoken his manhood. It was his natural way under his training. He was used to the strong grasp and the iron hand. That he was fortunate in the result goes without saying; but what is fortune but doing things rightly—but comprehension, nerve, ability, efficiency? At every turn he arose to the opportunity and was superior to the occasion. At every moment he was lofty in his view and unerring in his judgment and struck with a master hand. After he graduated I never met him. But hearing that on the unveiling of the statue of Admiral Farragut, he had made a kindly reference to me, and seeing in 1911 that he was to attend the graduating exercises at Annapolis, I wrote him a note, saying that I had a son at the Academy, and I desired

that he would shake hands with him. He bore the request in mind and sent for my son to come on board his flag ship and manifested his kindly disposition, as was his wont. He talked of matters fifty years before; and, possibly, if the young officer shall survive so long, what the Admiral said will be recalled fifty years hence.

In a class below me was Don A. Pardee, who was quite a man, well grown, developed, settled. He had a fine reputation as a mathematician, and was highly esteemed for his character. There were reasons why I recall him while many of his date are forgotten. He resigned to study law and there is an honored circuit judge of the Southern District today bearing his name. It is not surprising that he won distinction in his profession, for he was highly endowed and much admired.

Occasionally during the Civil War some mention would be made of some fine performance of men I had known at Annapolis, and naturally I was interested that they reflected credit on their alma mater. Particularly do I recall that Bunce merited honor for the masterly way he handled the fleet of boats making a landing in the attack on Morris Island July 10, 1863.

Most of the Southern men in the navy resigned, but opportunities for the Confederates were more meager. Storrs, of Alabama, became an artillery officer of much merit. And with Semmes, Maffit and Waddell were others I have known. Perhaps C. V. Read won the most distinction of the younger set. After the war some of the Southerners sought employment in South America and in China, and others, as I have mentioned, in Egypt. Hard indeed was the fate of the Confederate naval officers, trained to arms, and with no opening in commercial life or civil vocations. But as far as I know they accepted whatever befell with equanimity. W. C. Whittle, of Norfolk, and John Grimball, of Charleston, each succeeded well in life; but others, I believe, fared badly. The only member of my class still in the navy is Admiral Remey. He was from Iowa, a Northern boy; quite young and not well grown. He had the regard of his classmates, but I was not of his coterie of particular friends, although I remember his personality.

clearly, and how we were kindly affected in regard to him. Later, he married at Washington and became a resident of that city.

It happened that in the summer of 1863 he was assigned to the naval battery operating against the Confederate defences on Morris Island. And perhaps that accounts for the accuracy of the Federal fire that I recall. On the land side of Battery Wagner there was a seige howitzer, 8-inch. When the Federal battery opened on it, the first shot struck it on the muzzle, with the effect of throwing the piece back from the parapet. The officer in charge, declaring it a chance shot, ordered the men to run the piece up again. Presently a second shot was fired—and that entered the bore of the howitzer and broke it off at the trunnions. Whether Remey was responsible for that I do not know. Nor for a shot that I have more cause to remember. One day when that battery was firing at Fort Moultrie, about 5,000 yards away, I was walking from Battery Gregg to Wagner, along the beach. As their shells hurtled at least a hundred yards above me, and as they would have to guess my distance and alter the range to fire at me, I paid no attention to their fire. But when I came in the line of fire they did the unexpected; altered the range, and cut the fuze at their guess; and behold a fragment of the shell passed between my legs! It was certainly worthy of Annapolis. The effect of rifle fire on masonry was something new in engineering. At Fort Pulaski, the year before, it had been effective; but the Confederates had but little information of that episode. In view of the introduction of this formidable instrument of warfare the question whether the granite walls of Fort Sumter could stand such a bombardment gave concern; and General Beauregard resorted to such devices as were open to him to strengthen the walls. On Sunday, the 22nd of August, when the bombardment was in strenuous progress, Major Bryan, Inspector-General on Beauregard's staff, and I took a boat and went over to inspect the effect of the fire. It was about five o'clock, and the tide was running out. We lay off about forty yards from the fort and drifted down; then pulling in again, again drifted down, repeating the operation several times, until the

Major was satisfied with his inspection. The Federal fire seemed to me perfection. It bored holes in the masonry perpendicularly and then horizontally; and every now and then great blocks of stone would be detached and would fall. For breaching, the work was done perfectly. I assume that was the work of the naval battery; and I give Remey credit for it. It was certainly well done. A few days later, in the assault on Fort Sumter by a force in boats—which was repulsed—Remey was taken prisoner. But the records show that he won fame and distinction by his service; and, now, in his advanced age he wears his honors well. Fortune has been most kind to him in all ways that men most value.

In bringing these desultory memories to a close—for I could well expand them into a volume—I must express my gratification that my alma mater, then in its infancy, has developed into the great institution we observe today. When I entered the student body numbered 124; now there are over 2,000 midshipmen there. The credit of projecting the Academy and creating it I believe is accorded to George Bancroft, the historian, when he was Secretary of the Navy; but the institution was organized and opened, and the first regular students entered in June, 1851, while William A. Graham, of North Carolina, was Secretary of the Navy; and Graham was succeeded by James C. Dobbin, of North Carolina, under whose administration the Academy expanded into present shape—and now under the administration of Josephus Daniels, of North Carolina, it has attained an importance beyond all possible anticipations. In the meantime its graduates have added lustre to their profession and have brought the naval service up to the highest state of efficiency. It has justified itself, and as the decades pass it probably will become more and more an object of pride to the entire country.

Rossetti Studies: Craftsmanship

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"A sonnet is a moment's monument,—
Memorial from the Soul's eternity
To one dead deathless hour. Look that it be,
Whether for lustral rite or dire portent,
Of its own arduous fulness reverent:
Carve it in ivory or in ebony,
As Day or Night may rule; and let Time see
Its flowering crest impearled and orient.

"A sonnet is a coin: its face reveals
The soul,—its converse, to what Power 'tis due:—
Whether for tribute to the august appeals
Of Life, or dower in Love's high retinue,
It serve; or 'mid the dark wharf's cavernous breath,
In Charon's palm it pay the toll to Death."

It would be difficult indeed to find any precise literary influences in the work of Rossetti. One rarely meets with so original an artist. He was too strong, I might almost say too dominant a man, to borrow much from others. At least one writer has sought to establish Rossetti's indebtedness to Dante; but perhaps the only sane comparison which could be made between these two would be one of personalities. Both were born leaders of men, both were creatures of strong emotions, artists thoroughly enamored of their art, and men given to melancholy contemplation. Yet Dante seems to have been shrewd, a man more like the generality of men, one whose daily life was very much like that of his fellows, and one intensely interested in the life around him, perhaps because it affected him so intimately. As artists, the two poets resemble each other. Both are masters of the tongue which they make their medium; both are fond of symbolism; both have sweet, yet strong and direct, voices; both are mystics; and both excel in the use of figurative speech, and very markedly so in their use of verisimilitude. But that is as far as the comparison should go; and as for borrowings from

Dante, you will find none in Rossetti. What will perhaps remind you most often of Dante, in reading Rossetti, will be the highly colored background of mediaeval mysticism. In content the English poet has virtually nothing in common with the Florentine; yet if one is bound to find resemblances, the content of Rossetti's work is more like that of Petrarch's than that of Dante's. This resemblance is a natural enough condition. The majority of Rossetti's poems, like the majority of Petrarch's, were written in praise of woman; and since Beauty, man's capacity for it, and the terms in which it can be expressed are about the same throughout human experience, is it to be wondered at if two poets say similar things, and in something of the same manner? In concluding this appropriately brief discussion of literary influences, I might say that while Dante distinguished between the earthly and the heavenly Aphrodite, in both Petrarch and Rossetti the two are fused and become one.

The predominant characteristics of Rossetti's language are melody, sonority, color, and virility. It is the combination of these qualities which is peculiar to him and which makes his product unique. Melody we find in innumerable poets; sonority and color in a Keats or a Yeats; and virility in a Byron, a Browning, or a Swinburne; but all these qualities in a single poet you will find but once in a people's literature, and when you add directness and concentration, then you must turn to Rossetti. How far his language was influenced by inherited tendencies and by associations with Italian it would be impossible to say; but I think that there can be little question as to a resemblance between the two. He has certain expressions, too, which might be reminiscent of Italian phrases; I mean, for example, such expressions as "her seemed" and "remembering her" which savor rather strongly of *le pareva* and *ricordandosi*.

To the painter-poet's love of color we may perhaps attribute his fondness for, and marvelous command of, qualifying words; words deliberately chosen, but chosen out of an abundance and with an unparalleled sense for intrinsic beauty and for poetic suggestiveness. Take such words as these italicized here.

"long known to thee
By *flying* hair and *fluttering* hem

In what *fond* flight, how many ways and days"

"The *ground-whirl* of the perished leaves of Hope"

"And round their *narrow* lips the mold falls *close*."

In the choice of the *mot juste*, as the French Parnassians called it, I know of no poet who can afford the reader anything like the wealth of overwhelming and exhilarating surprises—the surprises which chill one's marrow—that are to be met with in Rossetti. In reading other poets you say, "How aptly chosen"; but in Rossetti you say not only "how apt," but also, "Who but this man could or would have chosen such a word!" Take a few verses at random to illustrate what I mean:

"This day at least was Summer's paramour,
Sun-colored to the imperishable core"

"How should I reach so far, who cannot weigh
Tomorrow's *dower* by *gage* of yesterday"

"Those unknown things or these things *overknown*"

"Sleepless with *cold commemorative* eyes"

"And in *regenerate rapture* turns my face
Upon the *devious* *coverts* of *dismay*."

The reader may better appreciate how much is gained in virility, conciseness, and suggestiveness, in such verses as the last two quoted above, if he will think to what length most poets would have spun out the matter which they contain.

There is always the danger in art that the master of this or that phase of technique may lose his sense of proportion and become the slave of that of which he had been the master. Rossetti did not escape this danger altogether nor did he ever succumb to it to any great extent. His use of compound nouns and adjectives is sometimes too noticeable, but is not a serious offense. He risked more in shifting the tonic accent of words. It takes time to grow accustomed to "life-fountáin";

but, on the other hand, one must confess that in many instances, as in "wing-feathers," the novel effect is altogether pleasing. Verses in which there is an annoying repetition of a sound are surely out of place in the sonnet:

"*Stoops* as it *swoops*, with cheek that laughs and burns."

But sins of this kind are few and surely negligible in view of Rossetti's work as a whole.

Despite the fact that much of his work is mediaeval in setting, his vocabulary does not contain many archaisms. His atmosphere he achieves, not by the use of antiquated language, but by investing his scenery with moods, and by the skill with which he strikes the right key and then keeps to the pitch. Inversions he disliked and avoided, and it is pleasurable, to say the least, to read a poet whose delivery is so direct.

No one has come away from a study of Plato and Dante without wondering at the splendor and originality of their figurative speech; and it has long seemed to me that excellence in the use of such speech was a mark of real poetry. That Plato was a poet, and a great one, will be patent to all unless they exact versification of poetry; for what poet has ever dreamed more beautiful dreams than those of the *Symposium* and the *Phaedo*, or a more elaborate one than that of the *Republic*? In beauty and originality of figurative speech Rossetti is surely akin to Plato. I have already alluded to the strength and resemblance of Dante and Rossetti in their use of verisimilitude; and the reader of these poets is not likely to forget readily this from the *Inferno*

"Poi che l'un piè per girsene sospese
Maometto mi disse esta parola"

or things like the following from the sonnets of Rossetti:

"The lost days of my life until today
What were they, could I see them on the street
Lie as they fell!"

"Ah! when the wan soul in that golden air
Between the scripted petals softly blown
Peers breathless for the gift of grace unknown."

The comparison might be extended further, and we might say that both poets excelled markedly in the use of figurative speech in general. In Rossetti's other figures of speech we shall meet with the same sort of surprise as that which we found in his "mot juste," only in a greater degree. See what picturesque imagery there is in figures like these!

"A sonnet is a coin: its face reveals
The soul,—its converse, to what Power 'tis due"

"On these debateable borders of the year
Spring's foot half falters"

"Alas for all
The loves that from his hand proud Youth lets fall,
Even as the beads of a told rosary!"

And how profoundly and poignantly does this next delve into the past of our hearts, rouse regrets for our lost youth, and reanimate days and delights which have long been forgot!

"intense
As instantaneous penetrating sense
In Spring's birth-hour of other Springs gone by."

There need be no dearth of illustrative matter in dealing with such a phase of Rossetti's genius. There is always an abundance, and an abundance to spare. The only difficulty will come in limiting oneself to so little, when there is so much.

There is nothing in Rossetti's life which would lead one to call him a lover of the out-of-doors, for most of his life was spent within a studio; yet when he did come in contact with Nature, his eye was keen to observe and his heart to remember; and what he saw with the outer eye, he colored with the eye of the imagination.

"Deep in the sun-searched growths the dragonfly
Hangs like a blue thread loosened from the sky."

And what lover of Nature, poet though he might be, would have observed this?

"The deer gaze calling, dappled white and dun,
As if, being foresters of old, the sun
Had marked them with the shade of forest-leaves."

Then for originality and remoteness from the commonplace of life, this figure is unique even among Rossetti's.

"Even as, heavy-curved,
Stooping against the wind, a charioteer
Is snatched from out his chariot by the hair,
So shall Time be; and as the void car, hurled
Abroad by reinless steeds, even so the world."

A notable feature of some of Rossetti's poems is the refrain. The use of a refrain was far from being an innovation with him, but what was new was the way in which he used it. Others had used it for rhythmical effects, but in his hands it took on new possibilities and new functions. He makes it a sort of antistrophe, the subtle echo of the stanza, or the voice of a vague emotion either roused by the stanza or complementary to it. It resembles a dominant undertone in music, and is very suggestively described in his own definition of the refrain, in the translation of Villon's ballade of the dead ladies, where he calls it an "overword." *A Death Parting* exemplifies admirably the "overword" type of Rossetti's refrains:

"Leaves and rain and the days of the year,
(Water-willow and wellaway,)
All these fall, and my soul gives ear,
And she is hence who once was here.
(With a wind blown night and day.)
Ah! but now, for a secret sign,
(The willow's wan and the water white,)
In the held breath of the day's decline
Her very face seemed pressed to mine.
(With a wind blown day and night.)

O love, of my death my life is fain;
(The willows wave on the water-way.)
Your cheek and mine are cold in the rain,
But warm they'll be when we meet again.
(With a wind blown night and day.)

Mists are heaved and cover the sky;
(The willows wail in the waning light,)
O loose your lips, leave space for a sigh,—
They seal my soul, I cannot die.
(With a wind blown day and night.)

Leaves and rain and the days of the year,
(Water-willow and wellaway.)
All still fall, and I still give ear,
And she is hence, and I am here.
(With a wind blown night and day.)

In other poems—such as *Troy Town*, *Eden Bower*, and *Sister Helen*—the refrain takes on a distinctly dramatic function and bears to the stanza and to the poem as a whole a relationship akin to that which the chorus bore to the main dialogue in the Greek classic tragedy. In *Troy Town* it lacks the musical qualities which Rossetti's refrains generally possess; but for all that it carries dramatic force and adds perceptibly to the climax of the poem. In fact, much of the poem's significance hinges upon those words

"O Troy's down
Tall Troy's on fire!"

It is the love of Helen and Paris which will prove to be the bane of Troy; so when once that love is kindled, the town is doomed, and the imminence of its fate broods over it from the very first stanza. The poem gains in intensity too from the refrain-like repetition of "heart's desire."

The refrain of *Sister Helen* changes from stanza to stanza to meet the demands made upon it by the progression of the poem; and in all of these poems the refrain—like a wave gathering violence with every dip—swells and accumulates the dramatic power until it breaks with the climax. The following stanzas from *Eden Bower* illustrate very forcibly the resemblance of the refrain to the Greek chorus. The main voice says:

"Lo! two babes for Eve and for Adam!"

and the chorus:

(And O the bower and the hour!)

the main voice:

'Lo! sweet snake, the travail and treasure,—
Two men-children born for their pleasure!
'The first is Cain and the second is Abel.'

the chorus:

(Eden bower's in flower.)

the main voice:

"The soul of one shall be made thy brother,
And thy tongue shall lap the blood of the other!"

the chorus:

(And O the bower and the hour!"

The sonnet must enter and take a large part in any discussion of Rossetti's art, because it is a form for which his contemplative genius was particularly fitted, and one in which he is universally acknowledged to have been a master.

In speaking of the sonnet we are altogether too much given to laying stress on the rhymes, as if the fourteen verses correctly rhymed constituted the sonnet. Happily the sonnet is something more than rhymes, and I shall try to show what Rossetti thought it to be.

It might be extravagant to say that one feature of the sonnet is more important than another, so much is the effect of the whole dependent upon the proper balance and harmony of its parts; but if not more important, its inner structure is surely full as important as its outer. Naturally, the fourteen verses, of a certain type, rhyming in a certain way, are the sonnet pattern; but they are not the sonnet. It is the material, the stuff of which one weaves, that makes the difference in cloths; and it is fundamental brainwork—intellectual and emotional—which really makes the difference in sonnet writing. It goes without saying that you must weave your material before you have cloth, you must work according to a plan, a pattern; and likewise in sonnet writing you must adopt the given pattern, since what we mean by a sonnet is a *poem* whose externals are the fourteen verses, the rhymes and the rest. You may, in your iconoclasm, decide to call a stone a tree, and a twenty-verse composition a sonnet; but to most mortals a stone will remain a stone and a sonnet a fourteen-verse poem till doomsday.

It is well to remember that a thing may be poetic without being lyrical, or lyrical without being poetic. The poetic quality has to do with imaginative suggestiveness, the lyrical with spontaneity of expression. Now the sonnet is contemplative rather than spontaneous, condensed rather than ef-

fusive, forceful and poignant, yet restrained, subtle, and austere.

Any attempt to prove the absolute superiority of the Petrarchan over the Shakespearian sonnet would be futile; for the one is superior as a Petrarchan and the other as a Shakespearian sonnet, and both have a right to be. Relatively speaking, however, and with the qualities spoken of above as indispensable attributes, one must admit that the Petrarchan model has yielded the more satisfactory results. To say that the Shakespearian is incapable of the necessary qualities would be going too far; but what can be safely said, I think, is that thus far, in the history of the sonnet in English literature, it has not achieved those qualities. If it was never meant to, then the question is at an end; and we may say that from the point of view of the sonnet as a poem excelling in condensation, restraint, and stateliness, the Petrarchan model has been superior. Too often in the Shakespearian sonnet the three quatrains have been mere bolstering for the crack of the whip of the more or less loosely connected couplet; and this charge might well apply to many, very many, of the Elizabethan sonnets, and, with some grounds, even to that one of Drayton's which Rossetti himself admired so much. What he found so admirable in it was doubtless the splendid analysis of a mood.

To Rossetti the sonnet was almost always a bipartite, as to both content and form; and outwardly these two parts were octave and sestette. In many of his sonnets one of these parts presented the thesis of mood or thought, while the other gave his emotional reaction to it. *Soul's Beauty* illustrates this type very well. In the octave we are shown who Lady Beauty is; and the sestette reveals how man reacts emotionally when brought in contact with her. Others of his sonnets present a theme from two different angles, as in that on the sonnet which heads this essay. Of this sonnet we can say further that it is the only sonnet on the sonnet which really tells us what the sonnet is. Wordsworth's "Scorn not the sonnet" is structurally a failure, and a mighty poor justification of the sonnet. It is not bipartite, has nothing of the advance and recoil movement, and in substance is merely a more or less imaginative statement of what part the sonnet has played in

the production of certain poets. It contains, to be sure, the splendid verses on Dante, Spenser, and Milton; but were it not for these verses of saving grace, what would there be to the poem? His sonnet beginning, "Nuns fret not at their convent's narrow room," is structurally much better; but that, too, gives us no inkling as to what the sonnet is. Eugene Lee-Hamilton's "Fourteen small broidered berries on the hem" is built very much like Wordsworth's "Scorn not the sonnet," in fact savors strongly of being an imitation of it, but gives us no more idea of what the sonnet is than does Wordsworth's.

Almost the same objection could be made to Gilder's "What is a sonnet?" except that it does suggest that a sonnet is "a two-edged sword." But now turn to Rossetti's, and you will find not only the spiritual significance of the sonnet,—

"A sonnet is a moment's monument
Memorial from the soul's eternity
To one dead deathless hour,"—

but also the vital and primal element of its being; its face and converse.

"A sonnet is a coin: its face reveals
The soul—its converse to what Power 'tis due."

It is this bipartite nature, then, which is the true seal of the sonnet; and Rossetti's success as a sonneteer was due in no small part to the fact that he recognized and lived up to this truth. Of his sonnets there are few indeed, (*A Match With The Moon* is an example), in which there is not a distinct recoil of the one part on the other. This bipartite feature has much to do with giving his sonnets their close-knit qualities. And with what an admirable sense of proportion the materials are distributed, so that no one part of the sonnet will be thin or another too heavy! With all their ornativeness and elaborate details these sonnets stand solid, nobly erect, and admirably poised. The emotional stress increases as the sonnet progresses, till, with the last verse, the heart of the reader is launched into the clear ether of the emotions and imagination. Here too the element of sonority is present and predominates as nowhere else in Rossetti's poems. To list the sonorous verses would be to list the great body of his sonnets; but

many of them are not merely sonorous: they are unapproachable in their poetic and imaginative suggestiveness.

"The ground-whirl of the perished leaves of Hope"

"Speechless while things forgotten call to us"

"The very sky and sea-line of her soul"

"Shadows and shoals that edge eternity"

"Faint as shed flowers, the attenuated dream"

"Sleepless with cold commemorative eyes"

"The wandering of his feet perpetually."

And these are only a few of the many. Mention another poet in whose work one can find verses like these—verses so intrinsically beautiful, so instinct with the breath of pure poetry, so vital and complete in themselves that they satisfy one as does an entire poem! Surely in such flights the poet has reached

"The ultimate outpost of eternity."

To me these verses mean more than do all possible "lyric cries." The "lyric cry" can rouse one, but it has no carrying power; while Rossetti's verses lift and sustain one over unimagined waters to unimagined shores. I believe that Rossetti is not only a master of the sonnet, but the greatest that we have had.

Organizing for American Export Trade

CHARLES WALLACE COLLINS
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With a powerful merchant marine giving us the means of an all-American ocean transportation, with every foreign country furnishing us with a prospective market for all varieties of our goods, and with raw materials and manufactures abundantly in excess of our domestic needs, there is left only the problem of organization to enable us to measure up to the unprecedented opportunity that faces us. It is a national problem upon the solution of which depends the ultimate prosperity of all sections of the country. It is a great challenge to American initiative and inventive genius and it is being met in a large way both by the Federal Government and by business. The State Department, the Department of Commerce, the Post Office Department, the Federal Trade Commission, and the Tariff Commission have each perfected plans within their own spheres of operation. Manufacturers are forming export combinations under the Webb-Pomerene Act and banking institutions are establishing branch banks in a number of trade centers abroad.

In the State Department the office of the Diplomatic and Consular Service is planning an expansion of its personnel both at home and abroad. Not only will there be a number of new consular posts, but the American consuls will, on the whole, be paid higher salaries and given more liberal allowances in order to attract men of first-rate ability. It is planned also to have one hundred and fifty vice consuls on a salary basis and to eliminate from the consular service all who are not American citizens.

The consul is recognized as the most important outpost of foreign trade. He is there in the field in vital contact with the local trade bodies with which our exporters wish to deal. He is constantly sending back to the State Department information about conditions of competition, trade movements, local needs and the like. In other words, whatever he thinks may prove of interest and value to American merchants having

goods to sell in his territory or to American investors seeking opportunities in foreign lands, he gives to his government. He is an investigator performing his services at the expense of the government for the benefit of American trade. He has of course other duties but none so important or so valuable. These reports coming into the State Department from all parts of the world are transmitted to the Bureau of Foreign Domestic Commerce of the Department of Commerce where they are analyzed and made available in printed form.

The Department of State as a promoter of foreign trade is not limited to the work of its consular officers. Through its Foreign Trade Adviser's office it keeps in close touch with commercial organizations in the United States and with the various government agencies conducting investigations which are of interest to American business. Through the Economic Intelligence section of this office it is able to bring to bear a fund of scientific, technical, and political information upon every question of foreign trade. This office has been greatly enlarged during recent months to meet the new demands of our exporters for information and guidance. It must be remembered, however, that the State Department does not conduct a trade agency; but since all foreign trade negotiations must be conducted through it, the above described activities are designed to give our exporters the fullest protection.

The Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce in the Department of Commerce exists solely for the purpose of aiding and promoting trade. It maintains a force of investigators in foreign countries under the designations of Commercial Attachés and of Trade Commissioners. The Commercial Attaché is accredited to the State Department and works with the embassy or legation. This relationship gives him a standing in the foreign country. His duty is to maintain a general outlook over the country within which he is stationed. He covers the whole field of commercial, industrial, and financial questions relating to his special territory. He is a trade-promoting agent, reporting to his government all the significant commercial developments coming within his view. His work

does not conflict with that of the consular officers who maintain a local outlook over the trade of the consular district.

The Trade Commissioner is a traveling agent whose function is to make a thorough investigation in a particular line of trade in a foreign country or countries. He is chosen with a view to his particular knowledge of the industry to be investigated. For instance, he may be an expert on agricultural implements, boots and shoes, cotton goods, or the like. Before he goes abroad he consults with the manufacturers in order to gain a clearer idea of the conditions and problems which he should investigate. In doing his work in the field he makes use of information furnished by consular officers and by the Commercial Attaché and pursues intensive investigations on his own initiative. His work is made available to the industries which he represents through correspondence during his travels, through the publication of his reports by the Department of Commerce, and through personal interviews upon his return after the completion of his investigations. The Trade Commissioner is not confined to any given country. He is a traveler going from place to place in search of particular information on the one subject to which he is assigned. It is planned to have seven additional commercial attaches, making the total seventeen, and twenty-six additional trade commissioners, making a total of fifty-four.

The Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce maintains at Washington a Latin-American division for promotion of trade with the Latin-American countries, a Far-Eastern division for promotion of trade with the Far East, and a Trade Information division for the gathering of miscellaneous commercial information and specific data on foreign markets outside of Latin-America and the Far East. The Bureau is thus equipped to furnish almost every variety of commercial information to the business of the country.

The criticism has often been made that there is necessarily duplication of effort in this direction by the State Department and the Department of Commerce. The Economic Intelligence section of the office of the Foreign Trade Adviser of the State Department, the consular service, the information-gathering agencies of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic

Commerce, the Tariff Commission, and the Federal Trade Commission are all gathering trade-information for the benefit of American business. It has been urged that this work could be consolidated under one head. The departments, however, insist that there is practically no duplication but a clearly defined coöperation between all of these agencies. The State Department is interested in business questions as they relate themselves to the foreign governments. The Department of Commerce or any other government department or any business organization can deal with the adjustment of a trade problem only through the State Department. It is absolutely necessary for the State Department to maintain a highly efficient staff of men who are thoroughly familiar with diplomatic traditions and usages in order that it may make effective representations to foreign governments concerning the claims and interests of American trade. Only the State Department can do this. It is a question of government dealing with government in matters that cannot be negotiated or settled by private correspondence between the respective nationals involved.

One of the recognized methods of introducing manufactured products to a prospective foreign customer is through the international parcels post. It is the most economical way to show samples and to ship light fabrics in limited quantities. It enables the small manufacturer to engage in export trade independently of export and import organizations and without the medium of the commercial traveler. By means of it the great corporations also can materially extend their export business.

Here again the United States is far behind Europe. We have only forty-four parcels post conventions with that number of countries and colonies. Among the countries not reached by us are Cuba, Canada, British India, Algiers, Tunis, Egypt, South Africa, Spain, and Switzerland. Great Britain, for example, has parcels post conventions with one hundred and nine localities not reached by us. She has a thriving trade with Cuba at our very doors through this agency and we have none, due to our failure to secure a treaty provision on this point. Steps are now being taken to correct this situation.

On February 11, 1919, at the invitation of the Postmaster-General, a conference was held in Washington between the exporters and officials of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce and of the Post Office. Action was taken which it is hoped will improve and extend this service.

The Tariff Commission is organized with the special purpose of keeping in touch with, and reporting upon, foreign custom laws and other such restrictions which may have a bearing upon American trade policy. In the words of its second annual report, "its most important function is that of having at the command of Congress, on all phases of the tariff question, information that will facilitate well-advised legislation."

The Commission is gathering exhaustive information on every kind of goods shipped into the United States from foreign countries on the following points: general description; uses to which it is put; methods and processes of its manufacture; notable divergencies between American and foreign methods; the nature and source of supply of raw materials; domestic production and exports; imports from principal countries; revenue from imports; the extent to which imports compete with domestic production; cost of manufacture here and abroad; suggestions for changes in the act of 1913; and other pertinent data.

It will be readily seen that although this information is gathered primarily for Congress, much of it is of vital interest in connection with the promotion of our export trade. The Tariff Commission makes public from time to time special reports on its investigations. These reports serve as handbooks upon various industries. Those already published cover the silk, button, glass, brush, and surgical instrument industries.

The Federal Trade Commission is authorized under its organic act "to investigate from time to time trade conditions in and with foreign countries where associations, combinations, or practices of manufacturers, merchants or traders, or other conditions may affect the foreign trade of the United States, and to report to Congress thereon with such recommendations as it deems advisable." In 1916 the Commission

conducted an extensive investigation on the question of co-operation in American export trade and published a two-volume report. It recommended the passage of a law authorizing American associations to be formed purely for the purpose of export trade and exempting such associations from the operation of the anti-trust laws, except that they should not be allowed to use unfair methods of competition. In April, 1918, Congress passed the so-called Webb-Pomerene export act, which carries out the recommendations of the Commission above mentioned. It gives American business men an opportunity to enter into combinations for the purpose of avoiding competition among themselves in foreign trade and for the purpose of presenting a solid and united front to similar combinations operating in foreign countries. The following quotation from the 1918 report shows what the Commission is now doing in this direction:

"The Commission is keeping informed as to the export needs of the country in order to be of assistance so that American producers may co-operate to the fullest extent in export fields, without injuriously affecting domestic commerce, or the foreign commerce of those exporters who are associated with export trade associations.

"Progress has been made in the preparation of an additional report on foreign trade relations.

"The world-wide dislocation of trade and industry incident to the war is creating new conditions which may vitally affect American business in the future. The Commission is closely following new developments in international trade, as they arise, with a view to ascertaining the bearing they may have on the foreign trade of the United States.

"The Commission has been co-operating with the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce and has availed itself of the privilege of publishing in the Commerce Reports statements from time to time."

One of the most important organizations for gaining a firm foothold in overseas trade is a powerful combination of all forces engaged in a particular line of industry. In no other way can we enter the world markets on equal terms with foreign competitors engaged in selling staple products. It is

futile for American manufacturers, for instance, of cotton goods, to maintain competing salesmen in a foreign country where its foreign opponents, selling the same goods, are each represented by one strong man or group of men. Prior to the war six hundred important cartels in Germany controlled practically every industry in the empire. Notable among these were the dye-color combination and the electrical equipment combination. Similarly in France and Belgium syndicates of iron and steel, glass and silk, and other industries control the foreign trade in these products. In Japan export organization of textile manufacturers is gaining headway with cotton goods in China. The agents of these giant syndicates go out into the field with every modern equipment to win foreign trade. They have powerful resources behind them. The only competition that they meet is from foreign countries. So far as staples are concerned America can only meet a permanent success in foreign trade by pooling its resources as foreign countries have done. We have just begun to take action along these lines.

Under the Webb-Pomerene act we have seen that combinations of corporations may be formed for the purpose of carrying on export trade. It is with foreign trade alone that they deal. Yet under our laws they are compelled to be incorporated under the statutes of some state and are therefore subject to the regulations and police powers of that state. This creates an anomalous situation. The prestige of the combination in foreign lands may be thus affected or its freedom of action may be unnecessarily restricted. The combinations are already subject to the jurisdiction of the Federal Trade Commission, and under the state law they are also subject to more or less control by the state corporation commission. There is a strong movement on foot for a federal incorporation act for corporations engaged entirely in export trade. Bills have been introduced in Congress and early favorable action is expected.

One of the most important factors in conducting foreign trade is financial organization for the purpose of arranging credits, furnishing credit information, handling commercial paper and otherwise assisting in the promotion of the sale of

goods. It is possible to do this to a certain extent by our banks forming connections with foreign banks, but it can only be done efficiently by establishing the foreign branch bank. The other great exporting nations are far ahead of us in this respect. There is a network of British branch banks all over the world where British traders go. British merchants can do business through their own banks everywhere. The same is true to a somewhat lesser degree of the other European countries.

A branch bank performs three important functions. It conducts a local banking business among the people where it is situated just as the native banks do. It finances overseas trade notably by creating a market for commercial paper and handling the same, and any extension of credits. It acts as an outpost for foreign trade by coming into contact with all of the commercial factors of the community of its location and is thereby able to advise its home bank intelligently on the degree of credit that can safely be extended. It can also furnish information as to the needs and requirements of the people, and in some cases it actually promotes commercial transactions. Thus it will be seen that the branch bank, the agent of the export corporation, and the consul, by close co-operation and coördination of effort, can prove a powerful factor in firmly establishing trade relations with the locality in which they operate.

The first American branch bank was established by the National City Bank of New York at Buenos Aires in the fall of 1914. Since then it has established twelve additional branches at the following places: Rio de Janeiro, with sub-branches in Brazil; Habana, with sub-branches in Cuba; Valparaiso and Santiago, with sub-branches in Chile; Genoa, with sub-branches in Italy; Petrograd, with sub-branches in Russia; Lima, with sub-branches in Peru; Caracas, with sub-branches in Venezuela; San Juan, with sub-branches in Porto Rico; Montevideo; and Rosario. The Commercial National Bank of Washington, D. C., has two foreign branches—in the Canal Zone and at Panama. The First National Bank of Boston has one branch at Buenos Aires. The American Foreign Banking Corporation has seven branches in Latin-America.

The Asia Banking Corporation was formed in the fall of 1918 and contemplates the establishment of branches at Hankow, Peking, Tientsin, Harbin and Vladivostok. When the Russian situation clears up it plans to enter that field also.

These organizations of foreign branch banks indicate the manifestation of our serious purpose to enter the foreign markets with our trade. Much remains to be done. We are especially weak in financial organization and trade promotion in the Near East—a rich and newly liberated country which furnishes the third largest market in the world for cotton goods.

With the strong arm of the government of the people of the United States reaching out in such a mighty effort and with powerful commercial and banking interests organized as above outlined, there is every reason why we should reap the reward of a great and ever increasing trade with foreign countries. And in doing this we shall not only bring a true and solid prosperity to ourselves, but we shall carry our services and our goods to all the world.

Trade and Transportation Along the South Atlantic Seaboard Before the Civil War

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In 1784 George Washington presided over a convention held at Annapolis in behalf of the people of Maryland and Virginia to consider the improvement of the navigation of the Potomac River. In April, 1808, Albert Gallatin, in a report to the Senate of the United States, recommended that a highway be constructed from Maine to Georgia, and at the same time urged that the inland bays and sounds along the Atlantic Ocean between Massachusetts and Georgia be connected by a system of canals in order to form a continuous water way.¹

These two circumstances epitomize as regards transportation the aspirations of the people dwelling along the Atlantic coast during the early days of our national existence. The one was an expression of the ever increasing desire to reach the West; the other, of a like desire to establish communication, other than by coasting vessels, among the secondary settlements along the coastal plain. Each of these ambitions in due course of time was realized, but in a manner different from that first attempted.

Among the enterprises projected to reach the West were the Cumberland Road, the James River and Kanawha Canal, the Erie Canal, the Baltimore and Ohio, and the Pennsylvania Railroads. Further to the south the Charleston and Cincinnati undertaking came to nothing, and it was not until the completion of the Western and Atlantic Railroad by the State of Georgia in 1851, that a satisfactory means of communication was secured between the coast and the Southwest.

The north and south line of communication was effected by a series of short lines of independent railroads built to connect the so-called fall line towns situated on the rivers flowing into the Atlantic Ocean. Prior to the advent of the rail-

¹ Report of the Secretary of the Treasury on Public Roads and Canals, made in pursuance of a resolution of the Senate of March 2, 1807.

road, north and south communication was accomplished in one of two ways: overland by conestoga wagon, or by coasting vessels which ascended the rivers and touched at each successive town in turn.

During the War of 1812 coastwise trade was interrupted, since vessels of the enemy lurked in the Atlantic ready to capture any commerce they might find.² This forced those who desired to travel between the coastal plain towns or to carry on trade to resort to carriage or conestoga wagon. The war once over, many of the wagon routes already established continued. In addition to wagon trips from Carolina and Virginia towns to Philadelphia, by which country produce was exchanged for manufactured wares, there were the regular weekly or semi-weekly stage coach trips, which looked after the travel and the mail. Well defined north and south currents of trade and travel were in existence when the railroad made its appearance.

The physiographical factor influencing the railroad routes was the fall line.³ Beginning at Trenton, New Jersey, this line runs southward through Philadelphia, Baltimore, Fredericksburg, Richmond, and Petersburg. The fall line and the tide line to this point coincide. Leaving Petersburg, Virginia, the line bends toward the southwest and runs parallel to the mountains, passing through Raleigh, Columbia, Augusta, Macon, Columbus, and Montgomery.

The railroads of Virginia and North Carolina formed the main link in a direct north and south inland line between Washington and Charleston. Those in South Carolina and Georgia were of much less importance. They formed no connecting link between important centers of trade. Branching off inland at Wilmington, Charleston, Savannah, and Brunswick, they ran to the Southwest. The whole system somewhat resembled a fan and its handle, the handle extending from Washington to those cities, and the fan being that network which spread from them toward the Southwest. The roads forming the fan and the trade which de-

² Kettell, in *Eighty Years of Progress*, p. 184.
³ Bulletin of American Geographical Society, Vol. XL, p. 136.

pended upon them have already been adequately treated.⁴ The handle had four major roads, the Richmond, Fredericksburg and Potomac, the Petersburg, the Richmond and Petersburg, and the Wilmington and Raleigh, which formed the line of communication between the Potomac River and Wilmington. The distance by rail is some 325 miles. They were all of the same gauge but there was no physical connection at Petersburg, Virginia, nor at Weldon, North Carolina. It was therefore impossible to transfer cars from one road to another. All through passengers and freight had to be transferred by omnibus or by wagon.

The Petersburg Road tapped the Roanoke River, brought produce to the Appomattox at Petersburg, where it was loaded on ship and sent to Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York. The Wilmington and Raleigh connected the Roanoke country with that of the Cape Fear.^{4a} The main purpose held in view by its builders was to collect the produce of the various river valleys which the road crossed and take it to a market within the borders of the state of North Carolina. The Richmond and Petersburg formed primarily a connecting link between the Richmond, Fredericksburg and Potomac and the Petersburg roads. Before it had been in operation two years it had secured three-fourths of the traffic between the two cities which had formerly gone by way of the James and Appomattox rivers.

It was inevitable that the construction of this 325 miles of road should cause a rearrangement of the north and south passenger and freight routes between the North and the South. With the completion of the Richmond and Petersburg, there was only one break in the continuous line of railroad between New York and Wilmington, that from Washington to Acquia Creek on the Potomac. This route in connection with the line of boats which the Wilmington and Raleigh operated between Wilmington and Charleston was the quickest between the northern cities and Charleston. Competition immediately set in between the Atlantic lines of railroad and

⁴ U. B. Phillips, *History of Transportation in the Eastern Cotton Belt to 1860*.

^{4a} This road was later known as the Wilmington and Weldon, from its actual termini.

ocean packets. The railroads, so long as they acted as a unit, were able to maintain themselves in this contest in spite of the inconveniences due to the fact that passengers had to be conveyed from one line to another in omnibuses. In order to meet this competition there were frequent reductions in the through fare on the part of the railroads.

In the early period the railways were merely supplemental to the waterways. In the sense in which the term is understood today, there was no through freight. Very little freight originating south of Wilmington was carried by rail to New York, Philadelphia, or Baltimore. The various roads collected the commodities produced along their lines or grown in that territory which had access to them by rivers or by wagons. Agricultural products produced on the northern portion were marketed over the Petersburg road. They went to Petersburg or to Richmond, where they were consumed, forwarded to other parts of Virginia, or shipped to home or foreign markets. Besides handling what products the Wilmington and Raleigh turned over to it, the Petersburg road received from the Raleigh and Gaston over the Greensville and Roanoke a considerable amount of produce from the interior of North Carolina. Much of this had formerly gone by wagon overland to Lynchburg.⁵ This traffic consisted largely of cotton, tobacco, grain, flour, and occasionally some livestock.

To the north the Richmond and Petersburg road was taking to Richmond and Manchester from the Petersburg road raw material, especially cotton and tobacco. It was either used there or else forwarded to Fredericksburg, Lynchburg, or other places in the state.⁶ Besides supplying the local markets and manufactories with raw material, the road through its Port Walthall branch was loading ships bound for foreign ports. The construction of a branch to the James River was carrying out still further the original idea of the railroad, to supplement the water courses as means of transportation. From the opening of the branch in February, 1844, to May,

⁵ Report of the Richmond and Petersburg Railroad Company, May 27, 1840.

⁶ Report of Vice President Haxall of the Richmond and Petersburg Railroad Company, October 31, 1839.

1845, 37 ships were loaded from the produce which came over various railroads.⁷ The plan of employing branch lines was furthered by the leasing of the Clover Hill road which ran to the coal mines in Chesterfield County. The carrying of coal was for many years the greatest source of revenue of the Richmond and Petersburg. The farmers, lumbermen, and the few manufacturers floated their produce down the rivers and deposited it at the intersection of railroad and river, or hauled it over dirt roads in wagons to convenient railroad points, whence it was distributed or taken to the most suitable seacoast market and from there trans-shipped to the consumer at home or abroad.

In the early days the largest revenue came from the handling of local passengers. A period then followed during which the main source of revenue was from through passengers. A few years prior to the Civil War freight began to take an important place and receipts from it amounted to about one-half of the entire income. For instance, the income of the Richmond and Petersburg road from travel during its first year of operation was \$41,713, while that from freight was only \$7,383.⁸ Again, in 1844 the receipts for the year preceding were \$30,665 from travel, as opposed to \$17,205 from freight. Of this \$30,665, \$22,722 were from local, as against \$7,883 from through travel, by which was meant that which originated on another road and passed over the Richmond and Petersburg or stopped at some point on it.⁹

During the decade from 1850 to 1860 the income from freight equalled and outstripped that from passenger travel on all the roads. While the income from freight of the Wilmington and Raleigh was rapidly increasing during these years, its character was also changing. The supply of naval stores in North Carolina was decreasing and many of those who had been engaged in this industry were now turning their attention to cotton and wheat raising. The amount of cotton handled by this road in 1854 was 7,088 bales; in 1860, 31,256; the number of bushels of wheat in 1844, 1,196; in 1860, 84,741.

⁷ Report of General Agent to Vice President and Board of Directors, Richmond and Petersburg R. R. Co., May 27, 1845.

⁸ Report of the Richmond and Petersburg Railroad Company, 1839.

⁹ Report of the Richmond and Petersburg Railroad Company, 1844.



Even greater development was noticeable in the traffic of the Petersburg road. Its main items of freight had always been agricultural products. The amount of cotton handled by the road in 1851 was 12,893 bales. Ten years later it handled 24,652 bales. The amount of tobacco handled had increased from 7,959 hogsheads in the former year to 14,577 in the latter. The number of bushels of grain handled in 1851 was less than 3,000 bushels, by 1860 the amount was 329,000 bushels.

Freight was becoming the chief business of the roads. They had been constructed in a cheap manner because the revenue at the time was not judged sufficient to justify a large investment. By 1840 it was clear that the tracks and rolling stock would not be heavy enough to take care of the traffic. In a letter to Governor E. B. Dudley, of North Carolina, dated June 28, 1840, President Bird bemoans the fact that the Petersburg road was torn up by carrying heavier freight than that for which it was intended, and almost expresses a regret that it was necessary for his road to carry freight at all.¹⁰ Attempts were made by all the companies so to improve their roads as to meet the new demands made upon them. Physical connection was being contemplated so that cars could be run the whole length of the line, obviating the necessity of reloading. The Civil War prevented this.

The whole situation up to the war may then be summed up by saying that the roads, formerly independent units, had been growing more and more dependent on each other. The success or failure of any one of them meant the success or failure of all. Local travel, which had at first been the main source of income, had become least important. Through passenger business had been greatly developed and railroads were competing successfully in this field with ocean steamers. The amount of freight handled was increasing faster than the roads could take care of it. Although this freight was in the true sense of the word local, only physical connection was necessary between the various lines in order that cars might

¹⁰ This letter is in manuscript among the papers of Governor E. B. Dudley, filed with the North Carolina Historical Commission at Raleigh.

run through from Wilmington to New York. These connections were prevented only by war.

Certain problems which have now become familiar in railroading made their appearance early in the history of these roads. The first of these was the question of labor to build them and to operate them when once they were built. The various states subscribed liberally to the undertakings and in return either bonds or stocks of the companies were issued to them. It was soon necessary to determine whether the State as such had power to regulate, or whether its voice in the management of the roads was like that of any other investor, proportional to the amount of the investment. Since all the roads were separate, the question of rates on through passengers and freight had to be settled. The problem of the short and long haul, in exactly the same form as it made its appearance later, soon arose. Last of all, the question of agreements between the roads themselves and competition with other roads appeared. Competition with steamship lines on the Atlantic was present from the beginning.

No particular difficulty presented itself in securing the necessary labor to build the roads. The ordinary manner of obtaining it was from the farmers who lived in the immediate vicinity. In many cases they did the grading through their own land with their own slaves. Some of them received stock in return for work; some were glad enough to give this much to the company in return for the advantages which they hoped to receive from it. This was particularly true of the Wilmington and Raleigh. The regular manner of getting the roads graded, however, was to let out sections by contract. The contractors hired from the owners slaves for a specified sum and board and clothing for a year. While some of the roads were being built the price of cotton was low, getting it to market was difficult and expensive, and owners found it more profitable to let out their slaves to contractors than to use them in raising cotton. Many contractors having secured their tools and organized their labor force, went from one job to another as the roads were completed. For instance, gangs which were employed on the Richmond, Fredericksburg and

Potomac were transferred to the Richmond and Petersburg when the former was completed to the Potomac River.

For the rough work of operating and loading trains negroes were hired directly by the railroad company. The contracts or bonds were signed on January 1. The usual price for the ordinary unskilled laborer was from \$75 to \$100 and his "find;" that of the skilled laborer, such as fireman or brakeman, was often as high as \$250 per annum. In the early history of the Wilmington and Raleigh, an engineer made a comfortable fortune by buying unskilled laborers at the prevailing price, training them himself, and hiring them to the company, thus receiving a handsome dividend on his investment.¹¹

For a number of years the system of using hired slaves was employed with success, but as agriculture became more profitable it was increasingly difficult to secure them, and resort was had to hiring white men for the work. This, however, proved unsuccessful, as the white men were less reliable than the slaves. As the price of slave labor advanced the roads began to buy slaves. In 1857 the Wilmington and Weldon owned thirteen, valued at \$15,000, and the report of 1860 advised the purchase of twenty more for use on trains and at warehouses.

The question of the fairness of a higher proportional charge for a short haul than for a long one soon made its appearance. It arose first in the Roanoke section of North Carolina, when the Wilmington and Raleigh charged a higher proportional rate for the haul from points in this locality to Weldon than over the whole line. The farmers of the section complained of the injustice of it, but were met by the argument that frequently the regular through train could not carry all the produce, and it was necessary to run an empty train from Wilmington to Weldon, 162 miles, and receive pay for the last thirty miles only. The only solution was to make a heavier charge on those who were receiving extra accommodation.

¹¹ On the authority of Mr. Walker Meares of Wilmington, N. C., the only person now living who was present when President E. B. Dudley turned the first shovel of dirt of the Wilmington and Raleigh.

Complaint arose also along the whole line because a higher proportional rate was charged for freight originating on the direct line than for that received from other roads or from outlying districts. The reply of the road was that it must be supported by those who were compelled to ship over it. If they supported it alone, they must necessarily pay a high freight rate. The carrying of additional freight and passengers attracted from territory which would not have shipped otherwise, cost the road very little more and the income was almost clear again. This gain could be applied to paying dividends and operating expenses, and the local rates were actually reduced. The question was whether or not the regular patrons of the road would support it alone or would receive assistance from shippers and passengers attracted by lower rates.

Competition was with through steamers and other railroads, and applied mainly to passengers. New York was the principal starting point and Charleston the destination of most of the north and south travel.¹² The Atlantic inland line and the ocean vessels competed for this. In order to have any chance to secure a part of the through north and south travel it was necessary that there should be at least a semblance of a through route between New York and Charleston. This did not exist before 1840. Upon the completion of the Wilmington and Raleigh what may be considered as a through inland rail and water route came into existence.

In order to secure a part of the traffic two things were necessary. First, this inland route must offer accommodations equal in a measure to those offered by the steamship. This could be accomplished by improvement in the road, filling in the gaps where no railroad existed, arranging a schedule so as to have a minimum of time lost. Second, through tickets must be sold at a price as low as that of the water line. At least five distinct roads were concerned and it would have been little less than a miracle if they had been able to reach an agreement satisfactory to all. The great bone of contention was the through ticket, and how much each road must sacrifice to enable all of them together to offer a rate which would

¹² Report of Wilmington and Raleigh R. R. Co., November 8, 1849.

attract patronage. Any road which insisted on having as its share of the through fare its local rate could upset the whole scheme. The arrangement aimed at was to set a rate between New York and Charleston which would meet that of the packet lines, and prorate the amount to each road according to mileage. This agreement prevailed for the most part, but not without friction. Whenever any particular road found itself in a position to throw the burden of advertising and incidental expenses on the others it invariably did so.

In spite of the difficulties which arose and the temporary abandonment of the through ticket from time to time, an effort was made to meet the ocean competition. The Atlantic line with its numerous roads and its contentions was in a poor position to meet water competition. Travellers bound for Baltimore upon arriving at Weldon had their choice of going over the Atlantic lines or over the Portsmouth and Roanoke to Norfolk and then by boat. The following advertisement appearing in the Charleston *Courier* of December 17, 1839, sets forth the advantage of the land route:

Travelers going north by the Wilmington and Raleigh Railroad and Steamboat Line, will find the route through Petersburg, Richmond, Washington and Baltimore, as expeditious, cheap and pleasant as any other. The companies on this route carry the Great Mail, and have a connecting line throughout. The Railroads are in good order, the engines new and of the most approved construction, the cars are eight wheeled, with private apartments for ladies, and there is a new and splendid steam-boat on the Potomac. No expense has been spared to make this route the most perfect in the country.

Travelers wishing to take this route are informed that after reaching Weldon, the termination of the Wilmington Line, they continue on in the Wilmington cars one and a quarter miles further to Garysburg, where they breakfast, and take the cars of the Petersburg Railroad Company. Here they pay through to Baltimore, and receive tickets for their baggage which relieve them of all trouble and expense on that score. They dine in Petersburg, sup in Fredericksburg, sleep on board the Potomac steamboat, breakfast the next morning in Baltimore, whence they can immediately proceed to Philadelphia and New York the same day.

Distances by this route:

Petersburg Railroad	60 miles
Richmond and Petersburg Railroad	22 miles
Richmond, Fredericksburg and Potomac Railroad	61 miles
Stages to Potomac Creek	9 miles

Potomac Steamboat 50 miles
 Baltimore and Washington Railroad 49 miles

Fare through from Garysburg to Baltimore, \$12.50. This includes all expenses except meals.

Offices of Petersburg Railroad Company, August 17, 1839.

In the same issue in which the advertisement quoted appeared, the following card was inserted, signed by eleven passengers who were traveling over this route to the South:

We, the undersigned passengers on the Railroad Line from Baltimore to Charleston, hereby state for the information of the public, and as a caution to Travelers, that we with about thirty others left Washington City in the evening of the twelfth instant on the steamer Augusta, having had positive assurance from the agent of the above line at Baltimore and Washington that we should arrive at Fredericksburg in time for the Richmond cars, and that we should meet with no delays whatever on the whole route.

On reaching Fredericksburg we ascertained that the Richmond cars had been gone but ten minutes and that the conductor was aware of our coming and our expectations to proceed on our journey without delay! Thus, more than forty passengers, men, women and children, were left in the streets of Fredericksburg at two o'clock in the morning, dependent upon the charity of the citizens for shelter and for providing a secure deposit for their baggage.

We were conveyed the next day to Richmond in a train of freight cars with all the inconvenience and discomforts incident to such a mode of conveyance. At Richmond we had arrived within fifty yards of the depot for the Petersburg train when the cars again left us, causing another unavoidable and disagreeable delay.

We have deemed it our duty to make the above statement of facts in order that the same wanton deceptions and impositions may not be practised upon other travellers. We take pleasure in stating that the conduct of the agent and conductors on the remainder of the route to Charleston has been such as to meet with our cordial approbation.¹³

However poor the accommodations may have been on these roads, their competitor, the Portsmouth and Roanoke, had no better to offer and the traveler had to choose between the two. Intense rivalry had existed from the beginning. The state had subscribed two-fifths of the capital of the Petersburg Road when it was incorporated in 1830. When the Portsmouth and Roanoke applied for a charter in 1832 the Petersburg did everything in its power to defeat the bill. The

¹³ *Charleston Courier*, December 17, 1839.

Petersburg Road objected that the state, if it subscribed to the stock of the Portsmouth and Roanoke, would be aiding a competitor of a road in which it was already interested. This was true and was afterward a source of great annoyance to the state. The Portsmouth and Roanoke was chartered and built nevertheless. Upon its completion keen competition broke out. Each road was struggling desperately to secure a monopoly of the Roanoke trade and travel between Weldon and Baltimore.

The Portsmouth and Roanoke was heavily mortgaged. The mortgage by some oversight was not recorded in North Carolina and through this technical error Mr. F. E. Rives secured possession of a bridge over the Roanoke and seventeen miles of line lying in North Carolina. He then attempted to operate this as a separate railroad by borrowing an engine and cars from the Petersburg Road and transferring them over a temporary track from the Petersburg to the Portsmouth and Roanoke. Having done this, he tore up some two miles of the line so that the Portsmouth and Roanoke could not run its trains over his road. The president of the Portsmouth and Roanoke appeared with a body of friends, repaired the track, overturned the Petersburg engine and cars and continued to run trains. Rives was arraigned and fined \$25 in the Superior Court of Law and Equity in Northampton County, North Carolina.

In 1845 the Portsmouth and Roanoke ceased to run its trains. The Petersburg no longer needed the Weldon bridge, having built one of its own. Yet in order to prevent any reorganized company from using it, the road made a brutally frank contract with Rives, according to the terms of which the company was to pay him \$60,000 in specified instalments "provided the railroad and bridge remain unused for transportation of persons and produce." The Board of Public Works opposed the contract with Rives, but it was carried out and was claimed to be "productive of great benefits both to the Petersburg and the Richmond, Fredericksburg and Potomac."¹⁴ The fact that such a contract could be made in the

¹⁴ Report of President Bird of the Petersburg Railroad Co., to the Board of Public Works of Virginia, Nov. 1, 1845.

state was a sad commentary on its power or willingness to regulate its railroads. After the Portsmouth and Roanoke had been discontinued for a year, an act was passed by the legislature in February, 1846, requiring the Board of Public Works to regulate the rates of the roads and to prevent the combination of the inland roads against the Portsmouth and Roanoke.¹⁸

Nor was the board more potent in remedying the abuses in connection with the free pass. The attitude of the roads on the question of passes was that if law was not violated in giving free passes in return for past benefits it could not be violated by giving passes in return for future benefits. The impotence of the Board as representative of the state to settle contests which were so evidently matters for state intervention, shows how little real authority the states had in regulating their railroads.

The situation with respect to competition before 1860 may be summarized thus. The Atlantic railroads, when they acted as a unit, were able to secure a fair share of the through passenger travel between Charleston and New York from the ocean lines. All the lines north of Weldon were in thorough sympathy with the efforts to crush the Portsmouth and Roanoke, thus securing its traffic for their lines. When this had been accomplished temporarily, each of the separate units tried to secure as large a share of the through fare as its position enabled it. That road which was in a position to reap the benefits of advertising and agencies at the termini, without sharing in the expense, did so.

In spite of the difficulties which beset the Atlantic lines and the petty quarrels which they had among themselves, at the outbreak of the Civil War they were in a position to make much more rapid progress than they had ever made before. They were carrying to the fall line towns, for consumption or for shipping, an increasing amount of produce. Commodities which had never before been able to bear the cost of transportation were being raised in remote districts of the states and were bringing to these sections all those advantages which come from contact with the outside world.

¹⁸ Acts of the Legislature of Virginia, 1845-1846.

These roads formed the main inland line of travel between the North and the South and were successful competitors of the ocean steamship lines. Questions which have become well defined in modern railroading had made their appearance. Chief among these were competition and the long and short haul. The treatment accorded a competitor was by no means magnanimous. Their relations with each other, for the most part harmonious, were disturbed now and then by the rate controversy. When these controversies arose the roads became competitors of each other and that one which occupied the strategic position enforced its demands.

Conditions were rapidly changing during the prosperous decade just prior to the war. The roads realized that to have a share in this prosperity solidarity was necessary. With this end in view preparations had already been made to close gaps and make physical connections at all points. This done, through freight could move throughout the length of the line from Wilmington to New York. The fall of Fort Sumter put an end to all improvements, and the whole line then became the main defended communication of the western section of the Confederacy.

The Humor of W. W. Jacobs

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Mr. William Wymark Jacobs is one of the few comic writers of our day whose writings have at all the flavor of literature. On this account his literary product may profitably be subjected to the vivisection of critical analysis, and the result of such an investigation amounts in plain words to this: he is a humorist, pure and simple, and, with all his limitations, by no means a typically English humorist. His purity and simplicity are easier to prove, however, than his cosmopolitanism. For while it is not hard to see that his humor is free from contamination and admixture and is of no great complexity, it is difficult not to see that its subject matter is exclusively British. From *Many Cargoes* to *The Castaways*, his books have been concerned chiefly with the amiably spontaneous and natural selfishness, hypocrisy, and general dishonesty of prosperous and cheerful English people of the lower classes. In a typical story he involves characters drawn from life and a plot based upon some extravagant project of deceit,—an elaborate practical joke it may be, or an equally complicated scheme for getting money by false pretenses. The crafty plans always go wrong and in the going rouse the risibilities of most male readers and of many women.

Behind the intention of Mr. Jacobs to write a comic story there is never a mixture of motives. It is quite evident that with him the joke is the thing. His comedy has rarely a bit of pathos about it, and rarely a touch of sympathy for human weakness or misfortune. Nor is there a clearly satirical note in his laughter; his mockery seems to have no reformatory purpose. Indeed he apparently has in his humorous tales no high artistic purpose of any sort beyond that of the literary fun-maker. Even the direct art of story-telling is with him subordinate to the incidental joke and the comic tableau. Ludicrousness of situation is the fuel for his engine of laughter; surprise plot, comical characterization, felicitous wit of style he leaves, for the most part, to daintier artists. Perhaps he

was a realist when he began to write stories ; certainly his early characters were copied from life. But his later people are to some extent caricatures of the earlier, and the situations upon which his plots depend are often extravagantly unreal. He clearly subordinates other elements of his narrative to the prime matter of humorous effect. Most significantly, he subordinates and, in fact, eliminates all high consideration of difficulties and mysteries of life. This oneness of purpose which causes Mr. Jacobs to write pure humor uncontaminated by any general ideas whatever, Mr. Arnold Bennett names "intellectual sluggishness." He finds it "impossible to gather from Mr. Jacobs' work that he cares for anything serious at all ; impossible to differentiate his intellectual outlook from that of an average reader of the *Strand Magazine*." It may be that in that sentence he has struck upon the secret of the humorist's great success. Jacobs, writing carefully and skilfully, a bit vulgarly now and then, but with never an attempt to solve a big problem, never more than a reticent mention of sex or gender, never the impropriety of a too realistically salty oath, produces just that kind of pure humor which suits the taste of Anglo-Saxon middle classes.

Purity alone, however, is not enough ; to appeal to an extensive reading public, humor must also be simple. No doubt Mr. Jacobs realized that fact from the beginning of his yarn-spinning progress, for the fun of almost any one of his tales is simplicity itself. His plots, of which there are said to be but four, are neither complex nor conspicuous. His directness of purpose and admirable deftness of method, economy of means, and compactness of effect in description and characterization, qualities highly praised by Mr. H. T. Baker in *The Contemporary Short Story*,—all make for a pleasant and easy understanding of the incidental background for his humor. His technique of story-building, in some respects remarkable, is largely a matter of dexterity in smoothing away all, even the smallest, wrinkles or rough edges or complicated turnings of style, plot, or character-drawing which might confuse the most obtuse reader or distract his attention from the matter of principal importance, the excuse for laughter.

The building of Jacobs' stories, then, though not a simple process, is simple in result. In a somewhat different sense the humor itself for the sake of which the stories are told is extremely simple. Much of it is of the crudest and most primitive, the sort of thing which produces laughter at the painful discomfiture of any of our fellow animals who violate the inexorable laws of nature, particularly the law of gravitation. More of the Jacobs humor, since after all it is intended for the amusement of at least semi-civilized readers, consists in the depiction of comparatively harmless incongruities of speech or action. Here embarrassment takes the place of bruises; but the comedy, if less clownish, is no more merciful. Of the more complex humor which sympathizes while it laughs and is near to tears even when it is laughing hardest, there is but little in the cleverness of Mr. Jacobs. He is not intolerant of the weaknesses of his characters; neither does he attempt to condone the frailties which generate the fun. In his humor at its best there is scarcely one wink of satire or of pathos.

This simple, unmixed humor of his is widely popular with male readers in the United States as well as in Great Britain, and not without reason, for it is in quality hardly more English than American. The characters and setting are always British, to be sure, and the stories have not that ethical force and purpose which William Dean Howells has attributed to American humor. In several other respects, however, the comedy of Jacobs has an equal appeal for John Bull and Brother Jonathan.

In order to demonstrate the intermediate or intermediary position of Jacobs, it is necessary to mention the conventional items of differentiation between the humor of Great Britain and that of America. An English humorist, Mr. P. G. Wodehouse, declares that the difference is the difference between a puppy with a kind master and a puppy with a master who bullies it. The lucky dog is the American, of course. In general, it is common to assert that American humor is less restrained and formal than that of the Mother Country. But the elements of distinction may be stated more definitely. Professor Leacock identifies three conspicuous characteristics of American

humor: the assumption of simplicity; freedom from convention, amounting sometimes to positive coarseness; and exaggeration. On the other hand, the principal characteristics of comic literature in latter-day England might be classified as follows: subtleties of wit for humorous effect; assumption of superior cleverness; extreme conventionality with especial deference to class-distinctions. Familiarity with the qualities of American humor may be taken for granted, but those of English humor as here enumerated require perhaps a few words of explanation. First, the typical English humorist has in the past presumed that he will be too witty for his readers and therefore has taken pains to explain his jokes. Secondly, he has found it desirable to confine himself to certain well defined and commonly accepted subjects for humorous comment. The truly British joke must be as stiffly dignified as a member of Parliament. Likewise it must never touch upon any matter which "the young person" might not discuss with another young person in the presence of a dowager duchess.

The typically American quality of over-statement is absent from the humorous stories of Jacobs, though there is something like it in the grotesquely absurd situations in which he places some of his characters. Possibly there is a Yankee touch in this paragraph from *Mixed Relations*:

"The mate grunted, and walking away, relieved his mind by putting his head in at the galley and bidding the cook hold up each separate utensil for his inspection. A hole in the frying pan the cook modestly attributed to elbow-grease."

In general, however, the true Columbian exaggeration is quite beyond Mr. Jacobs. But in other respects he is not a typically English humorist. Notably, he does not habitually explain his jokes. He allows his readers to take them or leave them. Though he often depends on cruder means of provoking laughter, he is not without wit, but he does not feel that he must annotate his cleverness for the benefit of witless readers. Such bright bits as the following he allows to shift for themselves:

"The brig sought her old berth at Buller's Wharf. It was occupied by a deaf sailing-arge, which, moved at last by self-interest,

not unconnected with its paint, took up a less desirable position and consoled itself with adjectives."

"Another chap I knew, arter waiting years and years for 'is rich aunt to die, was hung because she committed suicide."

With regard to the most important distinction between American and English humor on the basis of their relative adherence to conventionality, Jacobs is in a mean or medium place. He is sufficiently conventional to refrain from realism in the matter of sailor-language and to preserve a respectable reticence with regard to the unpleasant details of seasickness and utter drunkenness. He follows Dickens, the master humorist of England, in his choice of comic characters from the lower classes; and here he is in the true classical tradition. But upon occasion he treats the upper middle class and even the nobility with no great respect, making them as weakly human as the rest. Much of his humor is of the crudest kind known to organized society. Two samples will prove this assertion:

"Her first husband had a wart on his left ear and a scar on his forehead where a friend of his kicked him one day."

"Mrs. Pearce came in with a pair of Alf's socks that he 'd been untidy enough to leave in the middle of the floor instead of kicking them under the bed."

Not only does he make jokes which are primitively coarse. Some of his most humorous stories are in very plot and conception vulgar. One of the most laughable of the famous Nightwatchman's yarns, for example, is of his difficulties with a half-clad Zulu woman who followed him home because she was infatuated with his nephew. Even the most delicate of his funny stories has a certain lowness about it which no doubt makes it unfit for the refined eyes of the nobility and gentry and which as indubitably contributes to the eagerness with which the tales of W. W. Jacobs are read through even the most highly cultured *pince nez* and *lorgnette* on our side of the Ocean sea.

Even staid pedagogues who pose as illustrious understanders and admirers of witty subtleties read these tales and laugh loudly. Yet the fact remains that there is nothing very

profound or deeply thoughtful about the humor of W. W. Jacobs. It is easy to comprehend and involves nothing to strain the weakest of adult intellects. As mental food it is much like New Orleans molasses, good in small quantities, not highly nutritious, wholesome, but not refined. And it is sufficiently different from typical English humor to be capable of being laughed at by democratic Americans.

The Modern Drama as it Reflects the Thought and Life of the People

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The drama in the United States is so recently born that it is referred to as "our infant industry." It has passed through three stages of development: "neglect," "imitation of foreign models," and "independence." Our country is young and we have bright hopes that the full development of the drama is no Utopian dream, for we are tardily awakening to the social significance of the theater and no longer regard it as a gateway to hell. In fact, the theater has just begun to reveal to us its unbounded strength. The playhouse, so long restricted by narrowness and crudity of popular taste, has become one of the three or four greatest influences in modern life. America alone employs fifty-five thousand people annually, in seven hundred companies, playing an average season of thirty weeks in thirty-two hundred theaters, and pays out a hundred million dollars for theatrical entertainment.

The Roman populace cried for bread and circuses, and this same call is made now for the theater, the institution that has always been cherished by mankind in spite of much puritanical prating. It is universally fascinating. Beginning with the Aleutian islanders and ending with the French, we find a semblance of it among all peoples. Probably its democracy is accountable for its popularity; but it has its roots in the deep craving for play and for joy, in the mimetic instinct. A child soon learns to play, to mime.

The theater is a beneficent institution; so it was in Greece, and again in Elizabethan England, as well as in the elder days of Spain, and it is truly powerful in its new efflorescence. Here is where we find our true nationality. Schlegel said: "In the drama nationality shows itself in the most marked manner." A weak-willed nation has no developed drama; the most flourishing, the most self-assertive people do have one. Matthew Arnold said: "The theater is irresistible; organize the theater!"

Since the foundation of our drama can be directly traced to a religious origin we do not consider it phenomenal to find contemporary plays dealing with religious subjects. For two hundred years religious opinion in England has been more or less antagonistic to the theater. This is also true in America, but this narrowness, bred and reared by the Puritan, is dying out, and the drama is being used by the church and school for religious and educational training. If truth is to be told anywhere, no place is too degraded.

Since the pendulum has swung back and the ban against theater-going has been raised, we have an infinite variety of plays: plays pleasant and unpleasant; those showing the seamy side of life and the Seven Deadly Sins; thesis plays,—“Hamlet” showing the curse of a weak will; “Othello” showing the ugliness of jealousy; “The School for Scandal” showing the effect of social gossip; “The Servant in the House,” with its rich appeal for real Christianity of service; Shaw’s “The Showing-up of Blanco Posnet,” which is an inquiry into the fundamentals of religion and life, cutting deep below all creeds and dogmas; Jerome’s “The Passing of the Third Floor Back,” with its gentle emphasis on the gospel of brotherly love and the doctrine of the better self. The modern drama disturbs, it uncovers sins individual and collective, poverty, disease, dirt. Kennedy makes a plea for a more real co-operation between the Protestant Church and the laborer and the outcast. Patterson’s “Rebellion” argues for a less arbitrary demand on the part of the Roman Catholic Church for blind faith and obedience.

In contrast with the Grecian tragedies our social plays show the tragic struggle coming through cumulative evil; it is the effect of society’s sin, of ancestral wrongdoing and weakness, while the Greeks laid the blame for human tragedy upon the Fates. Shakespearean tragedy differs from ours. The personal sins of Richard III become swallowed up in the larger problem of paternal sin in “Ghosts” and “Damaged Goods.”

This religious phase of our dramatic art is an old one newly revived. The novelty, however, seems to add to its importance and its expected worth. Miss Jane Addams says that

our religious education by the Church has practically failed. The intimate experience with the life of the people which this foremost American citizen has had gives significance to her opinion. She believes the theater of today to be a greater force in forming actual public codes of morals than the Church because the latter is so "reluctant to admit conduct to be the supreme and efficient test of religious validity." The theater attacks all problems unflinchingly, while the Church hesitates. Through the drama we are learning that we are not only masters of our own fate and captains of our own souls, but that we are also masters of our brother's fate and captains of his soul.

Morality or immorality is not a question of subject-matter. In the treatment of that subject lies the basis for its ethical judgment. "Hamlet" is not immoral though murders predominate. "The Cenci" is not immoral, yet the story tells how a daughter killed her father. Thus the critics who condemn Ibsen's "Ghosts" because of its subject-matter, might as well condemn the masterpieces of Shakespeare and Shelley. The only immorality comes when the writer has been untruthful in his judgments. When we can prove that such modern plays as "Ghosts" are immoral, we shall have proved that the play has told lies about itself.

The dramatist does not formulate conduct. He regulates it. He puts certain characters in certain surroundings and conducts their actions and thoughts. In this conducting lies the field of ethics, not in the subject-matter. Clayton Hamilton says that the way to help the public is to set before it images of faith and hope and love. If Ibsen has done this he has been moral; if Shaw has, he is moral.

The modern play is disturbing. Kennedy tells us: "There's a lot o' brothers knockin' a'baht as people don't know on, eh what? See wot I mean?" The hunger for brotherhood accounts for much of the present social unrest. Man's inhumanity to man should disturb our apathetic conscience. The dramatic literature of the present war has a social basis. Should we quarrel with the religious drama for telling us our duty? No, rather pray for more Kennedys, more Barries, more Ibsens, more Pattersons.

Some one has said that plays are looked to for the exposition of creeds, dramatists for the creation of philosophies, actors for the manifestations of living souls. No one questions but that the drama of any age reflects life contemporary with it. The Grecian tragedies tell us of the Attic life and thought; Goldsmith, Sheridan and Shelley are indexes to their time; while Ibsen and Shaw along with lesser dramatic lights tell us of our own time. The predominating subject now is the sex question, with its kindred subjects, such as the divorce evil, suffrage agitation, and woman in the professions. The audience is changing with the thought. What was taboo to an American audience a decade ago is recommended to both sexes of all ages now. Enlightened mothers take their sons and daughters to "The Blindness of Virtue," "Damaged Goods," and kindred plays. "The rich and happy English people," Lt. John G. Ervine says, "gave 'Hamlet' and 'King Lear' to the world; the poor and persecuted Irish gave 'Charles O'Malley' and 'Handy Andy.' And so it has always been in the history of the world. A devout people makes play in which divine figures are characters and an irreligious age appoints a censor who deletes the expression 'My Angel' from a play, although it was addressed by a lover to his lady, because angels are heavenly beings and it is not in good taste to make any reference, however remote, to religion in a drama."

But this is an age of realism. Dramatists, therefore, tell us of specific social wrongs and have cast asunder kings and poetic pictures of general passions. The common every day toiler is portrayed not vicious, but weak; not contemptible, but sublime. We get the bigness of life. The Attic gods and fates and the Elizabethan "innerselves" have given place to modern social evils. Society is at fault. Modern dramatists go to the root of the great causes which produce these social phenomena; they are leaving the parlor of life and going into the dining-room and kitchen, bedroom and cellar. Every evil is exposed, and the man with or without religious scruples can get the philosophy of the age while he is being entertained. No theater audience, however, must be taken as a school or treated like one; theater-goers want to be regarded as amuse-

ment seekers. But the playwright gives the unsuspecting audience a few philosophic ideas along with the amusement. Shaw's "Widower's Houses" leads us to think of the bad housing of the poor; Hauptmann's "The Weavers" shows us vividly the problems arising out of the controversy between labor and capital; Sheldon's "The Nigger" treats of the race question. These "melo-farces," or social dramas, describe more directly the life and thought of the people than those of any other type.

Sixteenth and seventeenth century drama aimed at poetic power. Shakespeare and Molière contributed to this rhetorical drama in "Hamlet" and "Tartuffe." Eighteenth century drama aimed at brilliancy of dialogue. Sheridan is typical of this Drama of Conversation. Beginning with the nineteenth century, stage facilities have been such that writers could please the age by their realistic productions. We have modernized Goldsmith and Sheridan in such men as Ibsen and Shaw.

Some ten or twelve years ago a noticeable change took place when romantic and realistic drama were both launched and both favored. Orientalized plays proved enchanting and Knoblauch's "Kismet" captivated London and New York. Later the locus of the romantic drama was moved from Arabia, the scene of "The Flower of the Palace of Han." Tully's "The Bird of Paradise" emphasized the contrast between oriental and occidental life. Audiences reacting from too insistent social satire or realistic dramas showed their appreciation of such romantic plays as "The Garden of Allah," "Bella Donna," "Joseph and His Brethren."

The dramatist deals with commodities called thoughts and feelings, and in the process he affects the public morals. The dramatist and the theater-manager, therefore, should have a sense of moral obligation to their patrons. The enlightened part of every community is under an equal moral obligation to teach the masses to want what they should have. The dramatic art is the people's art, an art for a crowd and not for a single spectator or reader; and it is every man's cultural and Christian duty to become intelligent in this mighty social and intellectual influence.

Of course the present war has greatly influenced the dramatic production; but it is interesting to note that the countries at war are using the drama for entertainment of the soldiers and for keeping up the morale at home. Actors and actresses have devoted their time and their talent for Red Cross work. While New York theaters, in some cases, have had to close, Washington theaters have been unable to accommodate their patrons.

The problem play, or *melo-farce*, is the most influential, both as a disturbing element and as a social mirror. The morality of this modern drama has been a theme of bitter conflict. Ibsen and Shaw have so disturbed the social mind that critics have almost forgotten to think of the art of these writers in their mad rush to condemn their subjects.

But art is fleeting. The artistic viewpoint of a people changes; they may need a new dramatic standard. This new realism of the twentieth century drama sacrifices theoretic climaxes in order to teach us the larger truths of life. We are analyzing the causes of discontent. The modern dramatist shows us that the man who corners the market on wheat and thereby raises the price of the poor man's bread is as much a criminal as the robber of an office who has been a convict and on account of this had been denied honest employment. We do not want sermonizing art; we do not want dogmatic truths taught by art; we want these things taught by example. We dare not question the necessity of discussing our social dangers on the stage. Our social institutions, our religious organizations refuse to discuss them; hence the theater, our most democratic educative force, must do its best to show the dangers and the shams of society. On the German stage Sudermann and Hauptmann have treated of marriage; Ibsen and Shaw have placed woman on a new basis; while Galsworthy, Shaw, Klein and Bennett have dealt with institutional reforms.

One of our latest American social documents was written by Charles Kenyon and produced in 1912. Kenyon has given us a sincere and sympathetic study of the emotions of the desperate poor. Eugene Walter's "The Easiest Way" is an excellent play technically and has sociological significance.

The Laura Murdochs are known in society of today. They are preordained victims of sex because of their temperament and of economic pressure. They must have both masculine affection and luxury. Eugenics is a comparatively new science, but our "infant industry" has made use of it, and Percy Mackaye in a play called "Tomorrow" has dramatized this phase of the sex problem.

Whether we study the modern drama for its religious or its non-religious significance, for its philosophy, or for its social uplift, we find a mirror being held to reflect our modern life and thought. No form of modern culture conforms to Emerson's "Man Thinking" so much as does the drama. We have Ibsen and Shaw, both of whom are the two most disturbing elements of any century.

The actor is no longer regarded with Elizabethan suspicion; the dramatist is on the top rung of the literary ladder. He may stand alone, he may not be reckoned in the gross or in the hundred, but he walks on his own feet, works with his own hands, and speaks from his own mind.

Recognizing the great influence exerted by the theater, believing it to be a great democratic institution, and the dramatist to be a servant of the people, one can see nothing phenomenal about its being a reflection of our modern age and a prediction of the future. Here is a chance to help society. It has been suggested that our philanthropists make it possible for the eighty per cent of our young people above the age of fourteen who desert our schools, to have within their means that sort of amusement that shall be most ennobling. This is a new rather than a popular thought; but why not a theater for instruction? The movies and their popularity show the need of this.

Let us demand images of faith, hope, and love, and insist that this mighty institution of good shall perform the service delegated to it when it was born in the bosom of the Church: to minister to the highest good of mankind.

The Thought of Edward Kidder Graham*

WILLIAM K. BOYD

Few North Carolinians have won, in so few years, such confidence and esteem as did Edward Kidder Graham. His influence, well integrated in his work as teacher and administrator at the University of North Carolina, gradually radiated beyond academic circles until all thoughtful citizens of the state looked to him for guidance and counsel concerning the public welfare. The conviction grew that upon him rested the mantle of that leadership so requisite in the years of adjustment to new conditions now confronting us. His death, which occurred on October 26, 1918, at the early age of forty-three, interrupted a career of great usefulness and of even greater promise. As a memorial to him his friends have collected and published his essays and addresses. The volume propounds, and also affords an answer to, a question pertinent not only for the author's biography, but also for those who must, like him, carry on the torch of progress. What were the thought and the program on which this man of rare promise established his leadership?

First of all, President Graham realized that a new conception of democratic government had worked its way into the minds of the people. No longer is the state regarded as a policeman, no longer are its duties simply to restrain. It must also be a "producer," enriching the lives of its citizens by abolishing ignorance, disease, crime, and poverty. To this well established conception of the duty of government President Graham gave a positive, spiritual interpretation. True democracy, he held, must establish the supremacy of human values, and make of itself a creative, spiritual force. "The productive democratic state would make of itself an organism by making its compartmental life a union of all of its parts, as the nation made of the states a territorial union. It would perfect the parts through the stronger, fuller life of the whole; it would lose none of the good of individual initiative and material suc-

* *Education and Citizenship and Other Papers.* By Edward Kidder Graham, late President of the University of North Carolina. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1919—xiv, 253 pp.

cess, but would translate it all into the whole of higher human values."

This conception of the function of the state President Graham did not explain in detail. Undoubtedly it involves some program of social democracy. Consider, for instance, its application to such questions as wealth and its taxation, labor and its rights, crime and its punishment. What breach with the past and its traditions might be involved in applying President Graham's conception of the productive, democratic state to these matters? How would he, had he lived, have pointed the way into a new social order?

A second subject ever in the mind of this leader of men was commercialism and its significance in the life of Americans, particularly in the life of the Southern people. This has long been the subject of discussion by critics, foreign and domestic, from the days of Emerson to the present. How often have the vulgarity, the materialism, and the "unspirituality" of Americans been contrasted with the ideals of taste and knowledge abounding in other and older nations! Think, for instance, of Matthew Arnold's criticism of the educational purposes of Cornell University or of that more recent pronouncement that the "American does not remember, he does not care, he lives in a materialistic dream." Such indictments have naturally received the attention of many among our intellectual class. It is interesting to note that President Graham's conclusions regarding the American spirit were attained and were made public prior to those regarding the function of the state and the task of the university. In an essay, "Culture and Commercialism," published in the *SOUTH ATLANTIC QUARTERLY* in 1908, also in his address, "Prosperity and Patriotism," before the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association in 1911, he frankly faced the trite but current criticism of American ideals and reached a positive and optimistic conclusion. The American people, he said, "are a race of workers," who seek perfection through work as surely as "the Hellenes sought it through religion, the Romans through law, the Greeks through art." But inseparable from this interest in work he held to be the spirit of democracy. And these two, work and democracy, make that

distinctively American trait which we may truly call a culture concept,—achievement touched by fine feeling.

There can hardly be found a finer analysis or a more apt definition of the real American spirit. But the test of President Graham's vision and conviction concerning true Americanism lay in its application to the section in which he lived and worked, the South. A Southerner by birth, closely allied with the best heritage of the *ante bellum* days, he became convinced that the conception of culture in the Old South was not in harmony with the American spirit. "The Union is a fact not merely because Lee surrendered to Grant," he says, "but because Lee's surrender was the first step in the surrender of a sectional belief in leisure and caste to the national ideal of democracy and work." The real process of reconstruction in the South was to learn the new ideal. "Work became spirit and dwelt among us." The recompense has been a sounder basis of living, a larger point of view, and a better intellectual grasp. "Definiteness, accuracy, courage for details, quickness, confidence, power to organize, the strong ability to utilize the opportunities for effective living, these qualities of mind and character no less than of business, and formed in the stream of life rather than in pleasurable leisure, are qualities that the spirit that has lately come into its life has so emphasized as to make them appear new." Such conclusions about the contrast between the past and the present of one's own land indicate much reflection, even anguish of mind, and a determination to think through to a conclusion at whatever cost. They stamp President Graham as one of that group whom the late Walter H. Page declared "look forward to a golden age that we may surely help to bring, not back to one that never was."

The genuinely productive state and the appearance of new values through commercialism—these are the proper background for the third and last of President Graham's mature ideas, the function of the state university. As a public institution he conceived it to be the instrument of democracy for realizing its aspirations. It should give a method and an ideal, rather than a definite program. In early days its message and service centred in the college of liberal arts; later scientific

schools and the spirit of research were acquired; more recently the policy of extension, of taking the institution to the people, has been adopted. But, according to President Graham, the greatest function of the state university still lies before it, i. e., the interpretation and application of a new conception of culture. To him the true state university is "a living unity, an organism at the heart of the living democratic state, interpreting its life, not by parts, or a summary of parts, but wholly, fusing the functions of brain and heart and hand under the immortal spirit of democracy as it moves in present American life to the complete realization of what men really want. The real measure of its power will be whether, discarding the irrelevancies of the past and present, it can focus, fuse, and interpret their eternal verities and radiate them from a new organized center of culture. This let it tentatively define as achievement touched by fine feeling, as truth alive and at work in the world of men and things."

Thus the function of the state university is to cherish and interpret the flower of American life—the spirit of "achievement touched by fine feeling." The university must emphasize the practical in education, the correlation of knowledge with "the present life of man," and at the same time realize that classical learning and research, as well as the sciences, when rightly interpreted, "are as deeply and completely service as any vocation service." Likewise university extension must be infused with a passion for truth, and must not be a stretching out "to the state boundaries for the purposes of protective popularity, or as carrying down to those without the castle gates broken bits of learning, but as the radiating power of a new passion, carrying in natural circulation the unified culture of the race to all parts of the body politic."

A productive, democratic state, the American ideal of achievement touched by fine feeling, and the state university as an organism guiding and interpreting these two—such were the mature ideas in the life and work of this promising leader of men. What definite program should result from their application to actual conditions? Unfortunately the prophet was removed before experiments could be made. But undoubtedly his vision would have borne fruit in three direc-

tions. First, the old cleavage between public and private education would have been eliminated or, at least, greatly reduced. To him all educational forces should be co-ordinated "as a spiritual union of elementary and secondary schools, of agricultural and mechanical and normal colleges, of private and denominational schools and colleges, all as a means to the end of the great commonwealth for which men have dreamed and died but scarcely dared to hope." How much waste and duplication, how much useless antagonism would have been avoided in the past under the unifying power of such a common purpose! Another inevitable result of the thought outlined in these addresses and essays would be a genuine change of political and social ideals; the spirit of individualism and privilege, so manifest in Southern industry as well as Southern politics, would inevitably collapse. Probably in the decline of an old and the rise of a new conception of political and social right, President Graham would have fought his greatest battle. Finally, under such leadership as was his, the number of educated men giving their thoughts and time unstintedly and without thought of reward, to all good causes, would have greatly increased.

The loss of such a leader is untimely. It is not irreparable, for others will surely rise to "carry on" along the paths of service he so clearly indicated.

BOOK REVIEWS

CAN GRANDE'S CASTLE. By Amy Lowell. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1918—xvii, 232 pp.

Miss Lowell calls the four pieces that make up her new volume, *Can Grande's Castle*, poems. The term is hardly accurate. The form is that to which Miss Lowell and her school have given the name of polyphonic prose. The base is a more or less rhythmical prose—"the long, flowing cadence of oratorical prose," as Miss Lowell states in her preface, and in this basic form is written by far the greater part of these so-called "poems." It is not verse, and there is no apparent reason why it, any more than many other passages of melodious prose—say certain portions of Carlyle or Ruskin—should be classified as poetry. Indeed, I find much in common between numerous passages of these historical "poems" of Miss Lowell's and passages of Carlyle upon more or less similar themes. Take, for example, the following paragraph from Miss Lowell's "The Bronze Horses:"

"For how long? Ask the guns imbedded in the snow of glaciers; ask the rivers pierced from their beds, overflowing marshes and meadows, forming a new sea. Seek the answer in the faces of the Grenatieri Brigade, dying to a man, but halting the invaders. Demand it of the women and children fleeing the approach of a bitter army. Provoke the reply in the dryness of those eyes which gaze upon the wreck of Tiepolo's ceiling in the Church of the Scalzi. Yet not in Italy alone shall you find it. The ring of searching must be widened, and France, England, Japan, and America, caught within its edge. Moons and moons, and seas seamed with vessels. Needles stitching the cloth of peace to choke the cannon of war."

Now compare with this the following from Carlyle's *French Revolution*:

"And even so it will blaze and run, scorching all things; and, from Cadiz to Archangel, mad Sansculottism, drilled now into Soldiership, led on by some 'armed Soldier of Democracy' (say, that monosyllabic Artillery-Officer), will set its

foot cruelly on the necks of its enemies ; and its shouting and their shrieking shall fill the world ;—Rash Coalised Kings, such a fire have ye kindled ; yourselves fireless, *your* fighters animated only by drill-sergeants, messroom moralities, and the drummer's cat ! However, it is begun, and will not end : not for a matter of twenty years. So long, this Gaelic fire, through its successive changes of colour and character, will blaze over the face of Europe, and afflict and scorch all men :—till it provoke all men : till it kindle another kind of fire, the Teutonic kind, namely ; and be swallowed up, so to speak in a day !”

It will be seen, I think, that here is a fundamental similarity, not in spirit only, but—which is more to our purpose—in form, the same sort of irregular rhythm which, almost since prose was first written, has, in the hands of a master, given it beauty and created that ill-defined field on the borders of both prose and poetry, which, because it is not verse, seems more simply and logically catalogued as prose.

Polyphonic prose, however, is something more than this. Oratorical prose is its base, but its base only. From this basic form it breaks away now and again into the more marked (though very subtly differentiated) rhythms of free verse, or at times into regular metrical and rimed verse, which, however, retains the typographical form of prose. Rimes and assonances, also, are introduced freely and irregularly at the will of the writer. The result is a new hybrid form whose merits I leave the curious to settle each for himself. “It's only touchstone is the taste and feeling of its author,” Miss Lowell remarks ; after which, what is there left for a critic to say, without getting down to things very fundamental indeed ?

But enough of the form of these poems (I waive my objection to the term for lack of a better—unless Miss Lowell will consent to having them called polyphones). They are, says their author, “the result of a vision thrown suddenly back upon remote events to explain a strange and terrible reality.” That reality, of course, is the war. Opinions will differ about the explanatory efficacy of the poems. Rather, I should say, Miss Lowell's interest in the war has led her into fields offering some exceptionally picturesque and poetic subjects, and

her interest throughout is of course an artistic interest—an interest in color and contrast, particularly in contrast. Her almost uniform method here is to select a moment of change or one preceding change—a moment of equilibrium preceding a violent overturn. The quiet and seclusion of old Japan at the time of Perry's visit; Constantinople before the bursting of the Fourth Crusade; Venice on the eve of the coming of Napoleon; the sedate hedges and ubiquitous stage-coaches of Old England when steam was about to make over the world. A short paragraph from "Hedge Island" will show what I mean:

"But in the distance there is a puff of steam. Just a puff, but it will do. Post-boys, coachmen, guards, chaises, melt like meadow rime before the sun."

The method epitomized in this paragraph is seen in its largest development in "The Bronze Horses," where the four horses of St. Mark's, of vicissitudinous memory, symbolize something or other calm and eternal poised in turn above the self-satisfied, pleasure-seeking Rome of Hadrian, the tumultuous merrymaking of the Byzantine Empire, the voluptuous decadence of eighteenth century Venice—civilizations, all of them, immersed in the pursuit of their petty pleasures while the tocsin rang for their violent death. To make real, vivid, pictorial, the bits of history selected seems to be Miss Lowell's principal aim, as—to revert to an earlier comparison—it was one (by no means the chief) aim of Carlyle. The most successful of the four poems, to my mind, is the first, "Sea-Blue and Blood-Red,"—a colorful and dramatic handling of the romance of Nelson and Lady Hamilton. This far more than any of the others I should be inclined to admit as truly a poem.

Perhaps it is too much to ask historical accuracy in a work of this kind, but I object to some of Miss Lowell's sins against this quality where it would seem that accuracy would have been quite as easy as its opposite. A case in point is her error in stating the numbers of ships engaged at Aboukir Bay and Trafalgar. I am not disposed to cavil at this. I am a bit sceptical when she describes all the papers (this in 1852) "running to press with *huge headlines*: 'Commodore Perry

Sails.'" (Italics mine.) And I am amused rather than indignant when she quotes Perry's young officers as discussing Artemus Ward in 1853 when I have very reliable evidence that the humorist who wrote under that sobriquet began his career no earlier than 1857. Perhaps Miss Lowell will reply that this is a polyphonic license.

JULIUS W. PRATT.

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A PEACE CONGRESS OF INTRIGUE. By Frederick Freska (Translated by Harry Hansen). New York: The Century Company, 1919—xxii, 448 pp.

A very timely book is this collection of sources relating to the Congress of Vienna. Its principal significance is shown in its two *raisons d'être*, namely, the fact that at this Congress originated many of the difficulties which at last found expression in the World War and the subsequent Versailles Peace Conference, and the contrasts in principles, methods, and motives existing between the Vienna assembly and the one at Versailles. For the purpose of demonstrating these facts, the materials for this collection have been admirably chosen.

A well designed "Foreword" by the translator points out the most striking contrasts between the earlier congress and the present peace assembly. A sufficient historical sketch of the Vienna Congress is given to illuminate the accounts following, by identifying the chief characters at the Congress, noting their aims and aspirations, and briefly reviewing the policies that obtained during the Vienna negotiations.

Then follow a series of eight personal narratives from the pens of distinguished individuals who were permitted to attend even the most august social functions arranged for the Congress, but who viewed the work of that body in a candid and impartial manner. They furnish vivid, intelligent accounts of the constant succession of concerts, oratorios, masques, festivals, and carousals which were kept up to celebrate the return of peace, to show the hospitality of the Viennese court (the cost is estimated as \$240,000 daily), and to serve as a mask for the constant intriguing which took the place of deliberations in formal sessions. It was this situation which

moved the wit of the Congress, the Prince de Ligne, to make the famous observation,—*Le Congrès danse, mais il ne marche pas.*

These eight accounts, taken from memoirs and personal letters, are divided in two sections of four narratives each. The first section deals with the lighter side of the Congress, the social calendar, while the other displays the real, serious work of the body behind the scenes. In the first section are portrayed the leaders of the great assembly, with shrewd estimates of the motives governing the conduct of each. Lesser princes, dignitaries, and influential individuals—lobbyists—pass in review. The unusual perception and understanding of the commentators show vividly the undercurrent of pride, arrogance, subtlety, selfishness, and ambition, which flowered beneath the surface of elaborate artificiality and which directed the lasting work of the historic body. The second section shows European diplomacy in its natural habitat, "behind the scenes". All the unconscionable bartering is visualized as it actually took place during the negotiations at Vienna. These diaries and memoirs show only too well the belief of the ruling caste of Europe that "the people existed only to be trafficked in."

This collection of historical anecdotes deserves a recognized place among collections of source material. But it is also worthy of the attention of the statesman, the professional educator, and the general reader as well, because of the clearly indicated moral; avoid sowing the wind, which leaves no choice of reaping the whirlwind.

HALFORD L. HOSKINS.

HAWTHORNE: HOW TO KNOW HIM. By George E. Woodberry. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1918-242 pp.

If the work of our scholars is to be restricted to the graduate seminar and to the philological journal, the dissemination of literary culture in America will be left almost entirely to the popular press. Midway between these extremes, multiplying the influence of our foremost authorities for a much wider classroom, is the pabulum that is to leaven American thought and ideals if they are to be directly influenced at all.

Happily this truth is recognized by the "How to Know Him" series. To be sure, contributions to such a series will not be uniformly good, for the merit of each will depend on the compiler's judgment. In the selections from Hawthorne, however, the reader gains a comprehensive acquaintance with the novelist within small compass. Moreover, the fewness of pages need not long detain men from other tasks.

In this book Dr. Woodberry has been content for the most part to let Hawthorne speak for himself. The skill lies in matching passages. He has reconstructed the old New England *milieu* first. Almost too insistent is he to tell us that Hawthorne and his community were not dissociated. One wonders if evidences of gloom were not traceable to the influence of the "graveyard poets" that furnished some of his reading during the Salem days. In the analysis of *The House of Seven Gables*, new vistas are pointed out, though its position before the discussion of *The Scarlet Letter* may lead some into anachronisms. In the matter of chronology, Dr. Woodberry has been too rigidly exclusive—not a date appears in his book. His ignoring Hawthorne's contribution to the short story is a serious omission; it does not suffice that such a relationship was pointed out in his earlier study of Hawthorne. As sixteen years have elapsed since that book was published, it is well to inquire whether any alterations of judgment occur. The later book, subdued in tone, barely supplements that incisive, enthusiastic study. The idea of Hawthorne's provinciality in his sketches has been here extended to cover his major work as well. Hawthorne wrote all his books "so to speak, from his own generation." His "sentimentality" further temporizes them. New points considered are: Hawthorne's "wavering of faith in his own imagination" when he has recourse to the "grain of salt" that makes for "a certain arbitrariness in the general plot of *The Scarlet Letter*"; the observation that his being primarily an artist and less competent in meditation, impaired his expression of thought; and the information that his grievance against Salem was almost as much against the world that made him "earn his bread by other means than his creative talent."

On laying down the book one feels that Hawthorne is receding from the foreground of American letters and taking the position of a provincial novelist such as Miss Jewett, for example, occupies. A critic's function lies not alone in enlarging on an author's potentialities—sometimes it consists in wisely drawing the veil over that which posterity can afford to pass by. This Dr. Woodberry has done.

E. E. LEISY.

University of Illinois.

FORTY YEARS OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS IN MISSISSIPPI, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE EDUCATION OF THE NEGRO. By Stuart Grayson Noble, New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1918—iv, 142 pp.

Professor Noble's monograph is a timely and suggestive study, both from the view of history and contemporary conditions. In the first four chapters the situation in public education during reconstruction is reviewed; the work of the Freedmen's Bureau, the attitude of the native whites toward negro education, the issue of mixed schools, the system of school administration and its relation to the Ku Klux, the financial extravagance, and the reaction of the negro himself to his educational opportunity,—these matters are clearly and definitely, though briefly, treated. The remaining chapters describe the development of public education since 1876. Among the author's conclusions the most notable are the following:

There has never been any discrimination in the law against the negro school; but opposition to the education of the negro at public expense has existed, based in the early years mainly on the question of expense, in recent times on the distribution of the school fund among the counties and a doubt as to the value of negro education. While liberal sentiment toward the negro has always triumphed over reaction, the negro school has not made progress equal to that of the white school since 1876. This has been especially notable since 1886, when the system of administration was reorganized. From that date until 1900 the negro schools declined in efficiency, and since 1900 they have made no progress. Indeed the training

of negro teachers has actually suffered because of less appropriation for that purpose from the general funds of the state.

Evidently a task and a duty lie before Mississippi,—the improvement of negro education in the common schools. The solution, it is to be hoped, will be the subject of further discussion by the author.

In conclusion, it is well to point out that Professor Noble's study is the only one of its kind yet made. Similar monographs on conditions in other Southern states are needed. On the basis of them a program of constructive effort in behalf of the negro might be framed.

W. K. B.

BLOOD AND SAND. A novel by Vincente Blasco Ibáñez, translated from the Spanish by Mrs. W. A. Gillespie. Authorized American Edition. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1919.

The American readers who enjoyed *The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse* have an opportunity to gain a fuller appreciation of Blasco Ibáñez' power in the translation of *San-grey Arena*. The work is older than the *Four Horsemen*, as its first edition appeared in 1908. It has long been popular on the Continent, both in the original and in translation, as have most of his other works. It is rather interesting to note that the author's vogue in the United States dates from the war and the *Four Horsemen*, for our sympathy for France attracted us to its setting, so largely French. One might even suspect that our translation came via the French language, for many expressions smack strongly of the French idiom rather than of the original Spanish.

While in the *Four Horsemen* the story is somewhat thin and serves primarily as background for the Battle of the Marne, in *Blood and Sand* the plot, incidents, and characters fit solidly into one unit, though again a splendid description, that of a bull-fight, is the most striking thing in the book. This greater harmony results largely from the difference in subject. The world war is a rather heavy piece of literary baggage, and the story of any human individual seems very small in comparison; whereas the stock-breeders, bull-fighters, and their families stand in perfect perspective to the central theme.

The hero of *Blood and Sand*, Juan Gallardo, is the son of poor and ignorant parents in Seville. From a very early age he has wandered over the city and neighboring country, visiting the slaughtering-houses, bull-baitings and provincial bull-fights. He does not pass through the usual lower ranks of his profession, but makes his first appearance as a full-fledged torero, delighting vast crowds by his strength and daring. He buys fine clothes, a house for his mother, builds a great mansion, marries Carmen, a childhood playmate, then buys a country estate and goes into stock-raising. He frequents the club of the cattle-breeding nobility, attracts the attention of the perverted Doña Sol, but at the height of his glory is seriously injured in a bull-fight. After a winter of rest, he returns to the ring, but seems to have lost his skill and daring. The crowd hoots and hisses. Doña Sol has lost all interest in him. One day he shows his old form, but in killing the bull, he receives from it a blow that stretches him lifeless on the sand.

The novel shows Blasco Ibáñez' usual seriousness and deep interest in the problems of his fellow countrymen. He reiterates his favorite thesis that the lack of education and the fondness for alcohol are responsible for their woes, but strikes another note when he makes a bandit say: "I can read and write. And what good has it done me? . . . What a poor man wants is justice." As a wise patriot he is heart and soul against the feudal system and other reminders of the middle ages which prevail in Spain. The opinion that so many critics hold, that he is the greatest novelist of today, is based on the fact that he so well fathoms and expresses the profound longing for justice which is stirring the world.

FREDERICK A. G. COWPER.

CONVENTION AND REVOLT IN POETRY. By John Livingston Lowes. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1919—346 pp.

This book represents Mr. Lowe's reaction to the present tendencies of verse as shown in the practice and profession of the different groups of writers of the so-called "new poetry", and arises from the honest effort of an unusually acute and sympathetic mind to harmonize the new with what of value it

has been accustomed to recognize in the old, and to discover in the present-day experiments any new elements of strength or beauty or truthfulness in expression that they may contribute to the permanent tradition of poetry. He has kept the difficult path between those who ignorantly condemn and those who are ready to wonder with a foolish face of praise at every new "paroxysm" of the novelty-makers.

The greater part of the book is taken up with a demonstration of the author's thesis that poetry has its origin in, and is throughout characterized by, conventions as definite and unescapable as the conventions of dramatic art and imposed by the necessity for the poet's creating his illusion through a medium acceptable, familiar, and intelligible to his reader. It is saved from becoming merely a shell or tissue of conventions by two opposed processes. The first is the reshaping, refreshing, and reapplying of the existing traditions, skilfully illustrated by the author from the practice of Chaucer. The second is the shattering or discarding of old conventions and the creating of new media, which become in their turn standards or models, i. e., conventions. To both these processes the author gives equal credit for originality. The present age in verse is one largely characterized by the spirit of revolt and an attempt at new creation.

To this point, using, as the scholar can only safely use, the materials of the past, the author constructs his causeway with firmness and all appearance of soundness. Next, after disposing of the distinction between the diction of poetry and "poetic diction," he plunges into the troubled matters of rhyme, meter, and *vers libre*. His attitude is still that of the impartial critic, who tolerates where he cannot praise. Though most lovers of poetry will sympathize with his opinion as to the artistic value of the restraint imposed by rhyme and meter, it must be admitted that here is the chief weakness in his armor, in his insistence upon the slightness of the extent of such restriction. In the next chapter the author, still in the most charitable mood, touches upon the two chief seeming dangers of the present movement, or rather movements; first, the tendency to lapse into a form likest to prose, with a substance not clearly poetic but clearly not prosaic; and second,

the premium placed upon fragmentary sketches embodying a fragmentary impression of the poet without giving any evidence of thought or of creative imagination. Certain it is that the present-day reader is puzzled by the confusion of values involved in the mere printing of polyphonic prose, and there is no probability that the hypothetical reader of the future, to whom the "new poet" is accustomed to appeal, will not reject this also as a mere eccentricity of the present, like the eccentricity of Llyly's Euphuism or of Spenser's pseudo-archaisms; or, more justly, tolerate it for the sake of the undoubted worth of much of its content and its freshness, as we tolerate Shakespeare's superabundant puns, the devious obscurities of Donne, the obtrusive prosiness of some of Wordsworth's famous ballads, the wilful cacophony of *Rabbi Ben Ezra* and *The Grammarian's Funeral*, for the great poetry that overshadows these whimsicalities. To the "vogue of the fragmentary" the author's words from another part of the book may well be applied. It "escapes the stern travail of thought. The poem is born in a sort of poetic twilight sleep."

The book has the virtues of unusual concreteness and perspicuousness in treating a subject often obscured by philosophizing or technical language. The writer's illustrations are effective and his power of phrasing is notable. A happy faculty for incorporating in his prose snatches of familiar and apt quotation tends dangerously to become a mannerism, so that before the end of the book the reader begins to look for them, with a resulting loss of attention to the thought. For its substantial virtues, however, the volume deserves to stand with the *Essentials of Poetry* and *Tendencies in Modern American Poetry* as among the recent works of greatest value dealing with the general subject.

H. M. ELLIS.

DEMOCRACY IN RECONSTRUCTION. Edited by Frederick A. Cleveland and Joseph Schafer. Boston, New York, and Chicago: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1919—506 pp.

This useful symposium consists of twenty-three papers on seven general topics, each chapter written by a different author. The only exception is one of the editors, Mr. Cleveland,

who contributes three chapters, which are perhaps the least meritorious papers in the book.

The first chapter, on *The Historical Background of Reconstruction in America*, is from the pen of Professor Schaffer and is merely the conventional exposition of the significance of the frontier and the new conditions due to its waning influence. The remainder of the book is arranged in six parts dealing respectively with: *Ideals of Democracy*; *Institutions of Democracy*; *After-War Social Problems*; *After-War Labor Problems*; *After-War Transportation Problems*; *After-War Political Problems*.

In the first part, Professor W. W. Willoughby's paper on *The Underlying Concepts of Democracy* is sane and helpful though confined strictly to political concepts. Mr. Cleveland's exposition of *Ideals of Democracy as Interpreted by President Wilson* is superficial, being composed largely of excerpts from the speeches and writings of the President.

Of the four papers on *Institutions of Democracy*, that on private property by Professor Kelsey and on the family by Professor Todd are succinct and illuminating. As much cannot be said of those on *Democratization of Institutions for Social Betterment* and *Democratization of Institutions for Public Service*, contributed by Professor Hayes and W. F. Willoughby respectively. One defect is the unreal distinction between the two topics. It is not easy to understand why a newspaper and a church are institutions for "social betterment," while a school and an army are institutions for "public service."

The five chapters in the third part are, on the whole, the best in the book, that on *Social Insurance* by Mr. Lindsay being the least meritorious. Dr. Lovejoy's *Democracy and Health* deserves reprinting as a tract for wider distribution.

The remaining chapters, dealing with labor, transportation, and political questions, are little more than expositions of facts and experiences. Mr. Cleveland does attempt in chapter twenty to point out the need for closer relations between the legislature and the executive in our government, but he loses himself in long quotations from President Wilson and Mr. Root, concluding with a weird suggestion that Congress be

turned into a sort of jury to try the policies of the executive in true judicial fashion, with the leaders of the two major political parties serving as attorneys for the prosecution and the defense.

For the most part, the authors maintain a higher level of merit than we have come to expect in a book with so many contributors. Only one other chapter seems to call for serious criticism. The editors contribute an *Introductory Note* to the part devoted to transportation, in which they undertake to state the difficulties of the railroads and three of the suggested methods of solution. Just why they should say "The plan proposed by the representatives of the 'unions' . . . is that the employees of all the railroad companies . . . be incorporated as the members of one company which is to own and operate the railroads as a single public utility—the capital to be furnished by the government" (pp. 334-5) is difficult to explain if one assumes that the authors were desirous of making an accurate statement.

WILLIAM THOMAS LAPRADE.

DEMOCRACY IN EDUCATION. By Joseph Kinmont Hart. New York: The Century Company, 1918—ix, 418 pp.

The title, *Democracy in Education*, readily claims the attention of the thoughtful student of present-day problems. Every since the breaking out of the World War we have been asking ourselves, "What is democracy, anyway?" "Where and when did it originate?" "How can we perpetuate it?" The author gives his answer to these questions in a history of education.

The relation of democracy to education he finds in Professor Dewey's definition of education as life-long effort on the part of the individual to adapt himself to a changing social environment. Since the social environment of the present is democratic, the large problem of education is to understand the meaning of democracy, and accordingly to modify the educational procedure through which democracy is attained. The history of education is found to be the story of the struggle of human intelligence to emancipate itself from the bonds

of tradition, thus swinging "from one level of habit through crises and reconstructions to new levels of habit."

In general, the author pursues the outline mapped out in earlier histories of education. His sources are much the same, and he gives prominence to the same theories and theorists. The first three or four chapters, however, have been enriched by the introduction of fresh sociological material, which gives us a better understanding of the social implications of education.

Mr. Hart seems to be less interested in making a display of historical facts than he is in the interpretation of facts previously set forth by other writers upon the subject. The student of education will come away from the study of this text with a new attitude toward education, but not very widely informed as to the facts in the education of past generations; he will better understand the ends and purposes of education, but will be little wiser as to the methods and school practices sanctioned by our forefathers. But, after all, we can well afford to forget many of the details of past experience, provided we correctly interpret the fundamental truths. The author's method of treatment has much to commend it.

If the reviewer may be permitted a suggestion or two with regard to amendment of the text, he would advocate a somewhat more intensive treatment of the democratic tendencies developing onward from the age of Rousseau. Perhaps also attention could well be devoted to the growth of democracy as observed in the development of the public school systems in the United States. Greater attention to forms and practices in education would probably make the book more serviceable to prospective teachers.

The book is well written. It is interesting and suggestive. It can well be used as a basal text in the history of education. Several chapters furnish good collateral readings for courses in political science or sociology. The general reader will find much to interest him.

STUART GRAYSON NOBLE.

Millsaps College.

LABOR AND RECONSTRUCTION IN EUROPE. By Elisha M. Friedman.
New York: E. P. Dutton & Company, 1919—xix, 216 pp.

This book is an illustration of the fortunes of war. It was dictated, as the author tells us, in the spring of 1918. It would have been a more useful and a much more interesting book if it could have seen the light at that time. It assumed that the war would continue through the months the experts then expected it to last. The sudden end of the war deprived the book of a large part of its merit.

Of the four chapters which the book contains, the first, on *Reconstruction Commissions in Foreign Countries*, enumerates eighteen countries in which commissions had been named, but it goes little further. The second chapter, containing only twenty-five pages, makes some running comments on what the author terms *General Problems of Reconstruction Abroad*, meaning, apparently, in Germany, England, and France. The last two chapters are concerned with the labor question in Germany and England respectively. Most of what is said about Germany has been invalidated by subsequent events in that country; we should have been interested in it in the spring of 1918. The chapter on labor in England is the only one in the book of much present value, and it is useful chiefly because it contains summaries of the various suggestions looking toward a solution of the question, such as the Whitley Report, the memorial issued by the Gaston Foundation, and the program of the British Labor Party. The bibliography is not the least meritorious part of the book.

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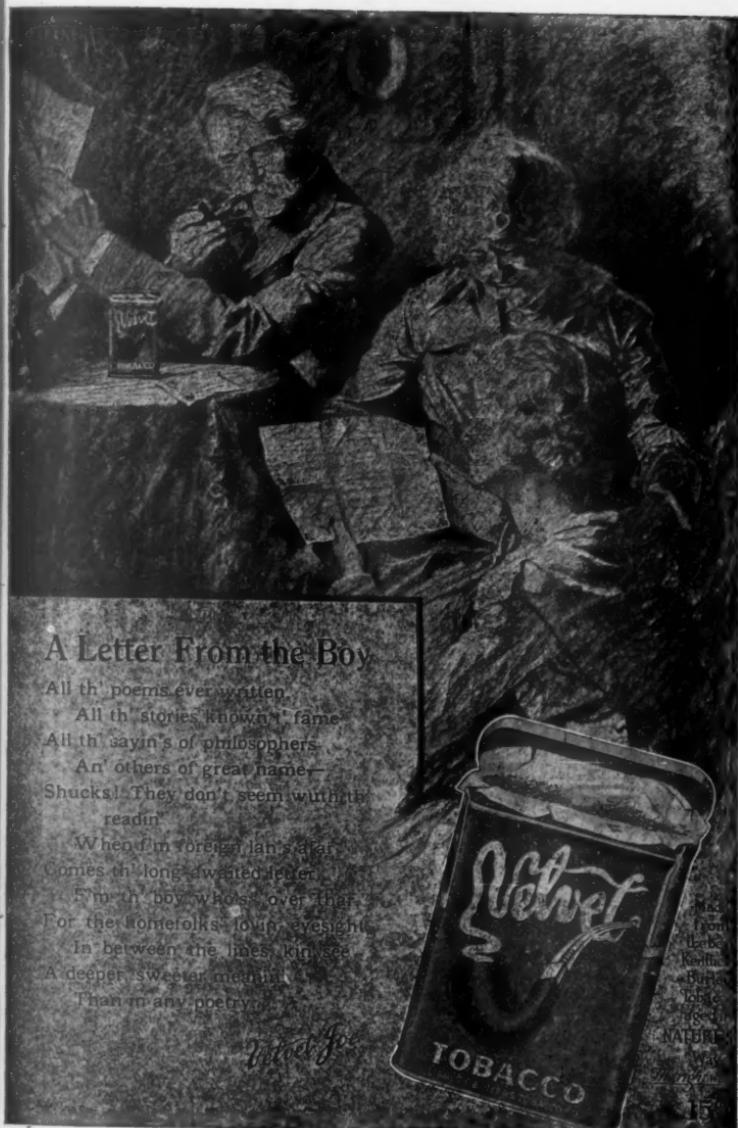
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